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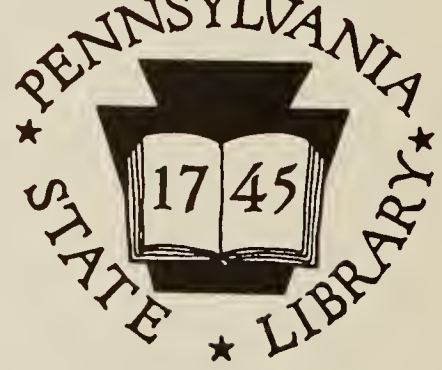

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PEACE SOCIETY

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By George E[van] Roberts

From address before the New York State Bankers' Association at Ottawa, Canada, June 12, 1913

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World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND ARBITRATION

BY

CARL SCHURZ

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON

January, 1914
Vol. IV. No. 1

Entered as second-class matter January 15, 1913, at the post-office at Boston, Mass., under the Act of August 24, 1912

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
PAMPHLET SERIES

Volume I was issued quarterly from April to October, 1911, and sets as complete as possible may be had on request for binding. Pamphlets in the volume include:—

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Volume IV, 1914

January, No. 1. AMERICAN LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND ARBITRATION. By CARL SCHURZ

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street Boston, Mass.

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND ARBITRATION

By Carl Schurz

Address before the American Conference on International Arbitration in Washington, D.C., April 22, 1896.

I have been honored with the request that I should address you on the desirableness of arbitration as a method of settling international disputes. To show that arbitration is preferable to war should be, among civilized people, as superfluous as to show that to refer disputes between individuals or associations to courts of justice is better than to refer them to single combat or to street fights,—in one word, that the ways of civilization are preferable to those of barbarism. Neither is there any doubt as to the practicability of international arbitration. What seemed an idealistic dream in Hugo Grotius's time is now largely an established practice; no longer an uncertain experiment, but an acknowledged success. In this century not less than three hundred controversies between civilized powers have been composed by arbitration. And more than that. Every international dispute settled by arbitration has stayed settled, while during the same period some of the results of great wars have not stayed settled, and others are unceasingly drawn in question, being subject to the shifting preponderance of power. And such wars have cost rivers of blood, countless treasure and immeasurable misery, while arbitration has cost comparatively nothing. Thus history teaches the indisputable lesson that arbitration is not only the most humane and economical method of settling international differences, but also the most, if not the only, certain method to furnish enduring results.

As to the part war has played, and may still have to play, in the history of mankind, I do not judge as a blind sentimentalist. I readily admit that, by the side of horrible devastations, barbarous cruelty, great and beneficent things have been accomplished by

means of war, in forming nations and in spreading and establishing the rule or influence of the capable and progressive. I will not inquire how much of this work still remains to be done and what place war may have in it. But, surely, among the civilized nations of to-day—and these we are considering—the existing conditions of intercourse largely preclude war as an agency for salutary objects. The steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, the postal union and other international arrangements facilitating transportation and the circulation of intelligence have broken down many of the barriers which formerly enabled nations to lead separate lives, and have made them, in those things which constitute the agencies of well-being and of progressive civilization, in a very high degree dependent upon each other. And this development of common life-interests and mutual furtherance, mental as well as material, still goes on in continuous growth. Thus a war between civilized nations means now a rupture of arteries of common life-blood, a stoppage of the agencies of common well-being and advancement, a waste of energy serviceable to common interests,—in one word, a general disaster, infinitely more serious than in times gone by; and it is, consequently, now an infinitely more heinous crime against humanity, unless not only the ends it is to serve fully justify the sacrifices it entails, but also unless all expedients suggested by the genius of peace have been exhausted to avert the armed conflict.

Of those pacific expedients, when ordinary diplomatic negotiation does not avail, arbitration has proved itself most effective. And it is the object of the movement in which we are engaged to make the resort to arbitration, in case of international difficulty, still more easy, more regular, more normal, more habitual, and thereby to render the resort to war more unnatural and more difficult than heretofore.

In this movement the republic of the United States is the natural leader, and I can conceive for it no nobler or more beneficent mission. The naturalness of this leadership is owing to its peculiar position among the nations of the earth. Look at the powers of the Old World, how each of them is uneasily watching the other; how conflicting interests or ambitions are constantly exciting new anxieties; how they are all armed to the teeth and nervously increasing their armaments, lest a hostile neighbor overmatch them; how they are piling expense upon expense and tax upon tax to augment their instruments of destruction; how, as has been said, every workingman

toiling for his daily bread has to carry a full-armed soldier or sailor on his back; and how, in spite of those bristling armaments, their sleep is unceasingly troubled by dreams of interests threatened, of marches stolen upon them, of combinations hatched against them, and of the danger of some accident breaking the precarious peace and setting those gigantic and exhausting preparations in motion for the work of ravage and ruin.

And then look at this republic, stronger than any nation in Europe in the number, intelligence, vigor and patriotism of its people, and in the unparalleled abundance of its barely broached resources; resting with full security in its magnificent domain; standing safely aloof from the feuds of the Old World; substantially unassailable in its great continental stronghold; no dangerous neighbors threatening its borders; no outlying and exposed possessions to make it anxious; the only great power in the world seeing no need of keeping up vast standing armaments on land or sea to maintain its peace or to protect its integrity; its free institutions making its people the sole master of its destinies; and its best political traditions pointing to a general policy of peace and good will among men. What nation is there better fitted to be the champion of this cause of peace and good will than this, so strong although unarmed, and so entirely exempt from any imputation of the motive of fear or of selfish advantage? Truly, this republic, with its power and its opportunities, is the pet of destiny.

As an American citizen, I cannot contemplate this noble peace mission of my country without a thrill of pride. And, I must confess, it touches me like an attack upon the dignity of this republic when I hear Americans repudiate that peace mission upon the ground of supposed interests of the United States, requiring for their protection or furtherance preparation for warlike action and the incitement of a fighting spirit among our people. To judge from the utterances of some men having the public ear, we are constantly threatened by the evil designs of rival or secretly hostile powers that are eagerly watching every chance to humiliate our self-esteem, to insult our flag, to balk our policies, to harass our commerce and even to threaten our very independence, and putting us in imminent danger of discomfiture of all sorts, unless we stand with sword in hand in sleepless watch, and cover the seas with warships, and picket the islands of every ocean with garrisoned outposts, and surround ourselves far and near with impregnable fortresses. What a poor

idea those indulging in such talk have of the true position of their country among the nations of the world!

A little calm reflection will convince every unprejudiced mind that there is not a single power, nor even an imaginable combination of powers, on the face of the globe that can wish—I might almost say, that can afford—a serious quarrel with the United States. There are very simple reasons for this. A war in our days is not a mere matter of military skill, nor even—as it would certainly not be in our case—a mere matter of preparation for the first onset. It is a matter of material resources, of reserves, of staying power. Now, considering that in all these respects our means are substantially inexhaustible, and that the patriotic spirit and the extraordinary ingenuity of our people would greatly aid their development in the progress of a conflict; considering that, however grievous might be the injuries which a strong hostile navy could inflict upon us at the beginning of a war, it could not touch a vital point, as on land we would be immensely superior to any army that could be brought upon our shores; considering that thus a war with the United States, as a test of endurance, would, so far as our staying power is concerned, be a war of indefinite duration; considering all these things, I am justified in saying that no European power can engage in such a conflict with us without presenting to its rivals in the Old World the most tempting opportunity for hostile action. And no European power will do this, unless forced by extreme necessity. For the same reason no European power will, even if it were so inclined, insist upon doing anything injurious to our interests that might lead to a war with the United States. We may therefore depend upon it with absolute assurance that, whether we are armed or not, no European power will seek a quarrel with us; that, on the contrary, they will avoid such a quarrel with the utmost care; that we cannot have a war with any of them unless we wantonly and persistently seek such a war; and that they will respect our rights and comply with all our demands, if just and proper, in the way of friendly agreement.

If anybody doubts this, let him look at a recent occurrence. The alarmists about the hostility to us of foreign powers usually have Great Britain in their minds. I am very sure President Cleveland, when he wrote his Venezuela message, did not mean to provoke a war with Great Britain. But the language of that message might have been construed as such a provocation by anybody inclined to

do so. Had Great Britain wished a quarrel with us, here was a tempting opportunity. Everybody knew that we had but a small navy, an insignificant standing army, and no coast defenses; that, in fact, we were entirely unprepared for a conflict. The public opinion of Europe, too, was against us. What did the British government do? It did not avail itself of that opportunity. It did not resent the language of the message. On the contrary, the Queen's speech from the throne gracefully turned that message into an "expression of willingness" on the part of the United States to cooperate with Great Britain in the adjustment of the Venezuela boundary dispute.

It has been said that the conciliatory mildness of this turn was owing to the impression produced in England by the German Emperor's congratulatory despatch to the president of the South African Republic. If the two things were so connected, it would prove what I have said, that even the strongest European government will be deterred from a quarrel with the United States by the opportunities which such a quarrel would open to its rivals. If the two things were not so connected, it would prove that even the strongest European power will under any circumstances go to very great lengths in the way of conciliation to remain on friendly terms with this republic.

In the face of these indisputable facts, we hear the hysterical cries of the alarmists who scent behind every rock or bush a foreign foe standing with dagger in hand ready to spring upon us and to rob us of our valuables, if not to kill us outright,—or at least making faces at us and insulting the stars and stripes. Is not this constant and eager looking for danger or insult where neither exists very like that melancholy form of insanity called persecution mania, which is so extremely distressing to the sufferers and their friends? We may heartily commiserate the unfortunate victims of so dreadful an affliction; but surely the American people should not take such morbid hallucinations as a reason for giving up that inestimable blessing of not being burdened with large armaments, and for embarking upon a policy of warlike preparation and bellicose bluster.

It is a little less absurd in sound, but not in sense, when people say that instead of trusting in our position as the great peace power we must at least have plenty of warships to "show our flag" everywhere, and to impress foreign nations with our strength, to the end of protecting and developing our maritime commerce. Granting that we should have a sufficient naval force to do our share of police

work on the seas, would a large armament be required on account of our maritime trade? Let us see. Fifty years ago, as the official statistics of "the value of foreign trade carried in American and in foreign vessels" show, nearly 82 per cent. of that trade was carried on in American vessels. Between 1847 and 1861 that percentage fell to 65. Then the Civil War came, at the close of which American bottoms carried only 28 per cent. of that trade; and now we carry less than 12 per cent. During the period when this maritime trade rose to its highest development, we had no naval force to be compared in any degree with those of the great European powers. Nor did we need any for the protection of our maritime commerce, for no foreign power molested that commerce. In fact, since the War of 1812, it has not been molested by anybody so as to require armed protection, except during the Civil War by Confederate cruisers. The harassment ceased again when the Civil War ended, but our merchant shipping on the high seas continued to decline.

That decline was evidently not owing to the superiority of other nations in naval armament. It was coincident with the development of ocean transportation by iron steamships instead of wooden sailing ships. The wooden sailing ships we had in plenty, but of iron steamships we have only few. It appears, therefore, that, whatever we may need a large war fleet for, it is certainly not for the development of our maritime commerce. To raise that commerce to its old superiority again, we want not more warships, but more merchant vessels. To obtain these, we need a policy enabling American capital and enterprise to compete in that business with foreign nations. And, to make such a policy fruitful, we need, above all things, peace. And we shall have that peace so long as we abstain from driving some foreign power, against its own inclination, into a war with the United States.

Can there be any motive other than the absurd ones mentioned to induce us to provoke such a war? I have heard it said that a war might be desirable to enliven business again. Would not that be as wise and moral as a proposition to burn down our cities for the purpose of giving the masons and carpenters something to do? Nay, we are even told that there are persons who would have a foreign war on any pretext, no matter with whom, to the end of bringing on a certain change in our monetary policy. But the thought of plotting in cold blood to break the peace of the country and to send thousands of our youths to slaughter and to desolate

thousands of American homes for an object of internal policy, whatever it may be, is so abominable, so ghastly, so appalling, that I dismiss it as impossible of belief.

I know, however, from personal experience, of some otherwise honorable and sensible men who wish for a war on sentimental—aye, on high moral—grounds. One of them, whom I much esteem, confessed to me that he longed for a war, if not with England, then with Spain or some other power, as he said, "to lift the American people out of their materialism and to awaken once more that heroic spirit which moved young Cushing to risk his life in blowing up the Confederate steamer *Albemarle*." This, when I heard it, fairly took my breath away. And yet, we must admit, such fanciful confusion of ideas is not without charm to some of our high-spirited young men. But what a mocking delusion it is! To lift a people out of materialism by war! Has not war always excited the spirit of reckless and unscrupulous speculation, not only while it was going on, but also afterward by the economic disorders accompanying and outlasting it? Has it not always stimulated the rapid and often dishonest accumulation of riches on one side, while spreading and intensifying want and misery on the other? Has it not thus always had a tendency to plunge a people still deeper into materialism? Has not every great war left a dark streak of demoralization behind? Has it not thus always proved dangerous to the purity of republican governments? Is not this our own experience? And as to awakening the heroic spirit,—does it not, while stirring noble impulses in some, excite the base passions in others? And do not the young Cushings among us find opportunities for heroism in the life of peace, too? Would it be wise, in the economy of the universe, to bring on a war, with its bloodshed and devastation, its distress and mourning, merely for the purpose of accommodating our young braves with chances for blowing up ships? The old Roman poet tells us that it is sweet and glorious to die for one's country. It is noble, indeed. But to die on the battlefield is not the highest achievement of heroism. To live for a good cause honestly, earnestly, unselfishly, laboriously, is at least as noble and heroic as to die for it, and usually far more difficult.

I have seen war. I have seen it with its glories and its horrors, with its noble emotions and its bestialities, with its exaltations and triumphs and its unspeakable miseries and baneful corruptions; and I say to you, I feel my blood tingle with indignation when I hear the

flippant talk of war, as if it were only a holiday pastime or a mere athletic sport. We are often told that there are things worse than war. Yes, but not many. He deserves the curse of mankind who, in the exercise of power, forgets that war should be only the very last resort, even in contending for a just and beneficent end, after all the resources of peaceful methods are thoroughly exhausted. As an American, proud of his country and anxious that this republic should prove itself equal to the most glorious of its opportunities, I cannot but denounce as a wretched fatuity that so-called patriotism which will not remember that we are the envy of the whole world for the priceless privilege of being exempt from the oppressive burden of warlike preparations; which, when it sees other nations groaning under that load, tauntingly asks, "Why do you not disarm?" and then insists that the American people, too, shall put the incubus of a heavy armament on their backs, which would drag this republic down from its high degree of the championship of peace among nations, and degrade it to the vulgar level of the bully ready and eager for a fight.

We hear much of the necessity of an elaborate system of coast fortifications to protect our seaports from assault. How far such a system may be desirable, I will not here discuss. But I am confident our strongest, most effective, most trustworthy and infinitely the cheapest coast defense will consist in "Fort Justice," "Fort Good Sense," "Fort Self-respect," "Fort Good Will," and, if international differences really do arise, "Fort Arbitration."

Let no one accuse me of resorting to the clap-trap of the stump speech in discussing this grave subject. I mean exactly what I say, and am solemnly in earnest. This republic can have no other armament so effective as the weapons of peace. Its security, its influence, its happiness, and its glory will be the greater, the less it thinks of war. Its moral authority will be far more potent than heavy squadrons and big guns. And this authority will, in its intercourse with foreign nations, be best maintained by that justice which is the duty of all; by that generous regard not only for the rights, but also the self-respect of others, which is the distinguishing mark of the true gentleman; and by that patient forbearance which is the most gracious virtue of the strong.

For all these reasons it appears to me that this republic is the natural champion of the great peace measure for the furtherance of which we are met. The permanent establishment of a general court

of arbitration to be composed of representative jurists of the principal states and to take cognizance of all international disputes that cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic negotiation is no doubt the ideal to be aimed at. If this cannot be reached at once, the conclusion of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain may be regarded as a great step in that direction.

I say this, not as a so-called Anglo-maniac, bowing down before everything English. While I admire the magnificent qualities and achievements of that great nation, I am not blind to its faults. I suppose Englishmen, candidly expressing their sentiments, speak in a similar strain of us. But I believe that an arbitration agreement between just these two countries would not only be of immense importance to themselves, but also serve as an example to invite imitation in wider circles. In this respect I do not think that the so-called blood-relationship of the two nations, which would make such an arbitration agreement between them appear more natural, furnishes the strongest reason for it. It is indeed true that the ties binding the two peoples sentimentally together would give to a war between them an especially wicked and heinous aspect. But, were their arbitration agreement placed mainly on this ground, it would lose much of its important significance for the world at large.

In truth, however, the common ancestry, the common origin of institutions and laws, the common traditions, the common literature, and so on, have not prevented conflicts between the Americans and the English before, and they would not alone be sufficient to prevent them in the future. Such conflicts may, indeed, be regarded as family feuds; but family feuds are apt to be the bitterest of all. In point of fact there is by no means such a community or accord of interest or feeling between the two nations as to preclude hot rivalries and jealousies on many fields, which might now and then bring forth an exciting clash. We hear it said even now, in this country, that Great Britain is not the power with whom to have a permanent peace arrangement because she is so high-handed in her dealings with other nations. I should not wonder if the same thing were said in England about the United States. This, of course, is not an argument against an arbitration agreement, but rather for it. Such an arrangement between nations of such temper is especially called for to prevent that temper from running away with calm reason. Between perfect angels from heaven an arbitration treaty would be superfluous.

The institution of a regulated and permanent system of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain would, therefore, not be a mere sentimental cooing between loving cousins, nor a mere stage-show got up for the amusement of the public, but a very serious contrivance intended for very serious business. It will set to mankind the example of two very great nations, the greatest rivals in the world, neither of them a mere theorist or sentimental dreamer, both intensely practical, self-willed and hard-headed, deliberately agreeing to abstain from the barbarous ways of bygone times in adjusting the questions of conflicting interest or ambition that may arise between them, and to resort, instead, in all cases of difficulty to the peaceable and civilized methods suggested by the enlightenment, the moral sense and the humane spirit of our age. If these two nations prove that this can be done, will not the conclusion gradually force itself upon other civilized nations that, by others too, it ought to be done, and finally that it must be done? This is the service to be rendered, not only to ourselves, but to mankind.

While the practicability of international arbitration by tribunals established in each case has been triumphantly proved, there is some difference of opinion as to whether a permanent tribunal is possible, whether it can be so organized as to be fit for the adjustment of all disputes that might come before it, and whether there would be any power behind it to enforce its adjudications in case one party or the other refused to comply. Such doubts should not disturb our purpose. Similar doubts had to be overcome at every step of the progress from the ancient wager of battle to the present organization of courts of justice. I am sanguine enough to believe that, as soon as the two governments have once resolved that a fixed system of international arbitration shall be established between them, the same ingenuity which has been exerted in discovering difficulties will then be exerted in removing them, and most of them will be found not to exist. The end to be reached determined upon in good faith, a workable machinery will soon be devised, be it a permanent arbitration tribunal or the adoption of an organic rule for the appointment of a special tribunal for each case. We may trust to experience to develop the best system.

Neither am I troubled by the objection that there are some international disputes which, in their very nature, cannot be submitted to arbitration, especially those involving questions of national honor.

When the habit of such submission is once well established, it will doubtless be found that most of the questions now thought unfit for it are entirely capable of composition by methods of reason and equity. And, as to so-called questions of honor, it is time for modern civilization to leave behind it those medieval notions according to which personal honor found its best protection in the dueling pistol, and national honor could be vindicated only by slaughter and devastation. Moreover, was not the great *Alabama* case, which involved points very closely akin to questions of honor, settled by international arbitration, and does not this magnificent achievement form one of the most glorious pages of the common history of America and England? Truly, the two nations that accomplished this need not be afraid of unadjustable questions of honor in the future.

Indeed, there will be no recognized power behind a court of arbitration, like an international sheriff or other executionary force, to compel the acceptance of its decisions by an unwilling party. In this extreme case there would be, as the worst possible result, what there would have been without arbitration,—war. But in how many of the hundreds of cases of international arbitration we have witnessed in this century has such an enforcing power been needed? In not a single one. In every instance the same spirit which moved the contending parties to accept arbitration moved them also to accept the verdict. Why, then, borrow trouble where experience has shown that there is no danger of mischief? The most trustworthy compelling power will always be the sense of honor of the parties concerned, and their respect for the enlightened judgment of civilized mankind which will watch the proceedings.

We may therefore confidently expect that a permanent system of arbitration will prove as feasible as it is desirable. Nor is there any reason to doubt that its general purpose is intelligently and warmly favored by the best public sentiment both in England and in the United States. The memorial of 233 members of the British House of Commons which in 1887 was presented to the President and the Congress of the United States, expressing the wish that all future differences between the two countries might be submitted to arbitration, was in 1890 echoed by a unanimous vote of our Congress requesting the President to open negotiations, in this sense, with all countries with which we had diplomatic relations. Again this sentiment broke forth in England as well as here, on the occasion of the Venezuela excitement, in demonstrations of the highest respectability.

Indeed, the popular desire, as well as the argument, seems to be all on one side. I have heard of only one objection that makes the slightest pretense to statesmanship, and it need only be stated to cover its supporters with confusion. It is that we are a young and aspiring people, and that a binding arbitration treaty would hamper us in our freedom of action!

Let the light be turned upon this. What is it that an arbitration treaty contemplates? That, in all cases of dispute between this and a certain other country, there shall be an impartial tribunal regularly appointed to decide, upon principles of international law, equity and reason, what this and what the other country may be justly entitled to. And this arrangement is to be shunned as hampering our freedom of action!

What will you think of a man who tells you that he feels himself intolerably hampered in his freedom of action by the ten commandments or by the criminal code? What respect and confidence can a nation claim for its character that rejects a trustworthy and well-regulated method of ascertaining and establishing right and justice, avowedly to preserve its freedom of action? Shame upon those who would have this great republic play so disreputable a part! I protest that the American people are an honorable people. Wherever its interests or ambitions may lead this great nation, I am sure it will always preserve that self-respect which will prompt it to court the search-light of truth and justice rather than, by skulking on dark and devious paths, to seek to evade it.

Therefore, I doubt not that the patriotic citizens assembled here to promote the establishment of a permanent system of arbitration may be confident of having the warm sympathy of the American people behind them, when they knock at the door of the President of the United States, and say to him: "In the name of all good Americans we commend this cause to your care. If carried to a successful issue, it will hold up this republic to its noblest ideals. It will illuminate with fresh luster the close of this great century. It will write the name of the American people foremost upon the roll of the champions of the world's peace and of true civilization."

NOTE.—This address by Mr. Schurz, given during the excitement following President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, is here published as it was given, because it is felt that it gains more than it loses by the references to certain issues of the time which have passed. Its central principles remain as forcible and as necessary to-day as when they were first declared; and in certain respects they are even more imperative, as we have been betrayed in the interval into the great

increase of armaments against which he uttered so solemn a warning. In his discussion of arbitration he was considering particularly our relations with England, and here what he said was the more impressive because he was not of English, but of German, blood. But his address is of universal application. It was given three years before the meeting of the first Hague Conference, which provided for a permanent court of arbitration, creating instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of disputes which were not in sight when Mr. Schurz spoke, but in whose creation he deeply rejoiced. His brief discussion of the sanction and enforcement of international judgments is peculiarly wise and in precise harmony with the later well-known declarations by Mr. Root. It is with the warrant of the appeal to history that he says, "The most trustworthy compelling power will always be the sense of honor of the parties concerned and their respect for the enlightened judgment of civilized mankind which will watch the proceedings."

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IMMUNITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA

BY

HON. JOSEPH H. CHOATE
First American Delegate to the Second Hague Conference

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THE IMMUNITY FROM CAPTURE OF PRIVATE UNOFFENDING PROPERTY OF THE ENEMY UPON THE HIGH SEAS[1]

By Joseph H. Choate

The government of the United States of America has instructed its delegates to the present conference to urge upon the nations assembled the adoption of the following proposition:

> The private property of all citizens or subjects of the signatory powers, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure on the sea by the armed vessels or by the military forces of any of the said signatory powers. But nothing herein contained shall extend exemption from seizure to vessels and their cargoes which may attempt to enter a port blockaded by the naval forces of any of the said powers.

This proposition involves a principle which has been advocated from the beginning by the government of the United States, and urged by it upon other nations, and which is most warmly cherished by the American people; and the President is of the opinion that whatever may be the apparent specific interest of our own or of any other country for the time being, the principle thus declared is of such permanent and universal importance that no balancing of the chances of probable loss or gain in the immediate future on the part of any nation should be permitted to outweigh the consideration of common benefit to civilization which calls for the adoption of such an agreement.

At this rare moment of universal peace existing throughout the world, the representatives of all the nations of the world are assembled for the first time to consult and agree upon what may tend to make this peace permanent; and while each nation is, of course, at liberty to contend here for what its own peculiar interests demand, there should be a spirit of mutual concession and compromise, which would favor the adoption of a principle so clearly for the common benefit of mankind, although it may demand of particular nations the yielding of some relic of ancient belligerent rights.

[1] Address of Mr. Choate before the fourth Commission of the Second Hague Conference at its second session, on June 28, 1907.

We are here under circumstances which demand of the conference the fullest and fairest consideration of this important question. In the First Peace Conference in 1899 the subject was not included in the program, and being embodied in a memorial of the United States Commission addressed to his Excellency M. de Staal, president of that conference, strongly urging its consideration, the memorial was referred by him to the appropriate committee, which reported that the committee did not consider itself competent to discuss the subject, and that it was therefore not ready to consider the question upon its intrinsic merits, but that it had instructed its chairman to report in favor of a resolution to be adopted by the conference, expressing the hope that the whole subject would be included in the program of a future conference. And after the representatives of two of the great powers had announced that, in the absence of instructions from their government, they were obliged to abstain from voting, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted; and accordingly, in the Final Convention adopted on the 29th of July for the specific regulation of international conflicts, it was unanimously voted, saving the abstentions referred to, as follows:

> The conference expresses the wish that the proposal which contemplates the declaration of the inviolability of private property in naval warfare may be referred to a subsequent conference for consideration.

We are here, therefore, to-day, with our favorite proposition, as a matter of right, the same having been included in the original program for this conference proposed by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and assented to by all the powers, so that no nation can properly refuse to vote upon it on the plea of want of instructions.

We have said that the immunity of the private property of belligerents at sea has been the traditional policy of the United States from the formation of its government, and, as will appear, it was so even before that date.

But at the outset, to avoid any misapprehension that might arise from this statement, I ought most frankly to concede that the United States has never been able to put this policy into practical operation, because other powers, although sometimes resorting to it for temporary purposes or by special agreement, have never consented to make such immunity a permanent rule of international law. And as this could not be accomplished except by the general consent of all the nations, it has in practice in all its wars, following the usages of other

nations, made use of the belligerent rights of capture of enemy's private ships, and sometimes, as in the War of 1812, to a very large extent; and only very recently has it by statute abolished prize money, which has generally been regarded as a material incentive to such capture. We thus confess that our government has heretofore acted without regard to the growing sentiment of our own citizens and of those of other nations in favor of immunity, and in this respect we claim to be no better than any other of our sister nations when acting as belligerents. It never would be possible or practicable for any belligerent to adopt the rule unless it becomes, as we hope it eventually will become, a positive rule acknowledged by every maritime power.

But now, in the light of our own experience of the comparative benefits and mischiefs that have resulted in the past from the exercise of this belligerent right, and of its constantly decreasing value to belligerents by reason of increased facilities of transportation by land from neutral ports and through neutral territories to belligerents, and because the great powers are to-day concentrating their fleets for purely military operations looking to the control of the sea, and are only building vessels which are useful for combat, we think the time has come to appeal to the maritime nations of the world assembled in this conference to agree to desist from this antiquated and mischievous resort to the capture of enemy's ships, and to leave the high seas free for the prosecution of innocent and unoffending commerce, the security and integrity of which is of such vast consequence to all the world.

In his message to Congress, in December, 1903, President Roosevelt, quoting and enforcing a previous message of President McKinley in December, 1898, said:

> The United States has for many years advocated this humane and beneficent principle, and is now in a position to recommend it to other powers without the imputation of selfish motives.

In response to this message the Congress of the United States, on the 28th of April, 1904, adopted the following resolution:

> That it is the sense of the Congress that it is desirable in the interest of uniformity of action by the maritime states of the world in time of war, that the President endeavor to bring about an understanding among the principal maritime powers, with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerents.

In the negotiation bearing upon the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, four years before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, that great lover of peace, Benjamin Franklin, our accredited plenipotentiary in Europe, strongly urged the adoption of this principle and proposed the insertion in the treaty of this clause:

> And all merchants or traders with their unarmed vessels, employed in commerce, exchanging the products of different nations and thereby rendering the necessary conveniences and comforts of human life more easy to obtain and more general, shall be allowed to pass freely unmolested. And neither of the powers, parties to this treaty, shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels empowering them to take or destroy such trading ships or interrupt such commerce.

And Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, in his instructions to our minister to England in July, 1823, had said:

> It has been remarked that by the usages of modern war the private property of an enemy is protected from seizure or confiscation as such, and private war itself has been almost universally exploded upon the land. By an exception, the reason of which it is not easy to perceive, the private property of an enemy upon the seas has not so fully received the benefit of the same principle. Private war, banished by the tacit and general consent of Christian nations from their territories, has taken its last refuge upon the ocean, and there continues to disgrace and afflict them by a system of licensed robbery bearing all the most atrocious characteristics of piracy.

President Monroe, in his annual message to Congress in 1823, stated:

> Instructions have accordingly been given to our ministers with France, Russia and Great Britain to make proposals to their respective governments to adopt the principle as a permanent and invariable rule in all future maritime wars. And when the friends of humanity reflect on the essential amelioration of the condition of the human race, which would result from the abolition of private war on the sea, and on the great facility by which it might be accomplished, requiring only the consent of a few sovereigns, an earnest hope is indulged that these overtures will meet with an attention animated by the spirit in which they were made, and that they will ultimately be successful.

Our Secretary of State, Henry Clay, in his instructions to the delegates representing the United States at the Panama Conference in 1826, directed them to bring forward at the contemplated congress the proposition to abolish war against private property and noncombatants upon the ocean, declaring that this had been an object which the United States had much at heart since they assumed their place among the nations.

Not only by such declarations, embodied in official instructions, has the United States asserted this principle, but in its diplomatic dealings with other nations it has carried it into actual effect as far as

possible. In its treaty with Frederick, king of Prussia, negotiated in 1785, two years before the adoption of the federal Constitution, negotiated by Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, it was embodied in the treaty in almost the identical language in which it had been proposed by Franklin to Great Britain two years before.

A similar provision was inserted in the treaty between the United States and the king of Italy in 1871. When our government was invited to give in its adhesion to the declaration of the Congress of Paris in 1856, in which it was not represented, whereby it was provided that privateering is and remains abolished, that the neutral flag covers enemies' goods, with the exception of contraband of war, and that neutral goods, with the same exception, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag, it declined to do so unless the declaration should be extended to include the exemption of enemies' ships as well as their goods in neutral vessels. But then and ever since it has declared its willingness to give up the right of privateering, if the other maritime nations would agree to recognize its declared principle of the immunity of the private property of noncombatants at sea.

It is pertinent to call the attention of the conference to the extent to which our principle has been carried into active effect by other nations from time to time and for temporary periods.

The principle was adopted and carried out in the War of 1866 by Prussia, Italy and Austria, the three powers concerned; and in 1854, when the Crimean War broke out, it was announced that operations would be confined to organized military and naval forces of the enemy. But the announcement was accompanied with the distinct reservation that the rights enumerated were waived for the time being only. And on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 an attempt was made by one of the belligerents to protect noncombatant commerce, but the protection was eventually withdrawn on the claim that it was not properly reciprocated by the other belligerent.

In 1865 Italy adopted a maritime code forbidding the capture of mercantile vessels of all hostile nations, provided reciprocity in that respect was observed by the other belligerent, and the rule was observed in the war between Italy and Austria shortly afterward.

There have also been frequent declarations upholding our principle by bodies whose utterances were entitled to very great respect.

In 1859 an assembly of influential merchants and shippers held

at Bremen declared in favor of the doctrine, and Hamburg, Stettin, Breslau, and the Chambers of Commerce of upper Bavaria concurred in this expression of enlightened policy. "On the 18th of April, 1868, the Reichstag of the North German Confederation adopted almost unanimously a resolution proposed, which directed the chancellor of the federation to undertake negotiations with other powers, in order to secure the recognition of the principle of immunity. And the declaration of Delbrück in the Bundesrath left no room to doubt that the Bundesrath, and especially the Prussian government, regarded the reaching of this goal as desirable as corresponding to the traditions of Prussian policy."

Professor von Bar, to whom we are indebted for the last facts above recited, says further:

> Even in England pronouncements of a like kind had been several times made. And in the Brussels International Conference of 1874, which busied itself with the laws of war, the Russian government introduced a projet in which it was expressly said that operations of war should not direct themselves against private persons, a principle incorporated in Article 40 in the projet of the Brussels conference in the following words: "Private property ought to be respected." In 1875 the Institution of International Law declared expressly for the immunity of enemy private property (enemy merchant ships), reserving, however, the right of capture of contraband.

It may be stated without qualification that the Chambers of Commerce throughout the world have declared in favor of our principle and urged its adoption by their various governments.

It may not be improper to observe that the government of the United States has uniformly advocated the doctrine of immunity under all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, without regard to its effect upon its temporary interests for the time being. Before we had an organized government, with no army and no navy, and only a feeble merchant marine, afterwards as that marine gradually but surely increased in amount and value, until at last it became a close second to the mercantile marine of England,—at a later period, in our Civil War, when by the incursions of a few Confederate cruisers our merchant shipping engaged in foreign commerce was actually swept from the seas, so that at the end of the Civil War, when our extemporized navy was dispersed, we had neither naval nor commercial marine,—and so on, down to the present time, when we have an efficient navy, but only a meager tonnage engaged in foreign commerce, only about seven per cent. of our great exports and imports passing in and out of the port of New York under our own flag;—in

all these varying circumstances, without regard to its direct or indirect effect upon our own fortunes and interests, we have uniformly advocated the doctrine as one of immense importance to civilization and to the general welfare of all nations.

In this we may fairly claim that we have been sustained by the general consensus of statesmen and jurists of many countries, who have made themselves felt upon the question. Beginning with England, we have the utterance of Lord Brougham in 1806:

> The private property of pacific and industrious individuals seems to be protected, and except in the single case of maritime capture it is spared accordingly by the general usage of all modern nations. No army now plunders unarmed individuals ashore, except for the purpose of providing for its own subsistence. And the laws of war are thought to be violated by the seizure of private property for the sake of gain, even within the limits of the hostile territory. It is not easy at first sight to discover why this humane and enlightened policy should still be excluded from the scenes of maritime hostility, or why the plunder of industrious merchants, which is thought disgraceful on land, should still be accounted honorable at sea.

And Lord Palmerston, in his address to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on November 8, 1856, declared:

> I cannot help hoping . . . that in the course of time those principles of war which are applied to hostilities by land may be extended without exception to hostilities by sea, so that private property shall no longer be the object of aggression on either side. If we look at the example of former periods, we shall not find that any powerful country was ever vanquished through the losses of individuals. It is the conflict of armies by land and of fleets by sea that decides the great contests of nations.

And Mr. Cobden, in 1862, in his address to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, after referring to the refusal of the government of the United States to adhere to that part of the Declaration of Paris abolishing privateering, said:

> That government . . . stated that they preferred to carry out the resolution which exempted private property from capture by privateers at sea a little farther, and to declare that such property should be exempted from seizure whether by privateers or by armed government ships. Now, if this counter proposal had never been made, I contend that after the change had been introduced affirming the rights and privileges of neutrals it would have been the interest of England to follow out the principle to the extent proposed by America.

And John Stuart Mill, in a speech in 1867, said:

> Those who approve of the Declaration of Paris mostly think that we ought to go still farther; that private property at sea, except contraband of war, should be exempt from seizure in all cases, not only in the ships of neutrals but in those of the belligerent nations. This doctrine was maintained with ability and earnestness in this house during the last session of Parliament, and it will probably be brought forward again, for there is great force in the argument on which it rests.

Sir Henry Maine, a great authority on international law, as well as upon the principles of justice in general, writing in 1888 with a view to satisfy his government that it was greatly for the interest of Great Britain to concur in the American doctrine, said:

> These, of course, are economical reasons, but I also look on the subject from the point of view of international law. Unless wars must be altogether discarded, as certain never again to occur, our situation is one of unexampled danger. Some part of the supplies which are matter of life and death to us may be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than before the Declaration of Paris was issued, but a nation still permitted to employ privateers can interrupt and endanger our supplies at a great number of points, and so can any nation with a maritime force of which any material portion can be detached for predatory cruising. It seems, then, that the proposal of the American government to give up privateers on condition of exempting all private property from capture might well be made by some very strong friend of Great Britain. If universally adopted, it would save our food, and it would save the commodities which are the price of our food, from their most formidable enemies, and would disarm the most formidable class of these enemies.

And finally, as expressive of the sentiments of at least a portion of the English government and people of the present day, we have the letter to the *Times* of October 14, 1905, of the present lord chancellor of Great Britain, in which he most emphatically indorses the American doctrine. He says:

> It may be asked, what prospect is there of altering the law in this respect, even if we desired it. An answer may be found in the history of this question, upon which, instructive though it be, a few words must suffice. During the last fifty years or more the United States have persistently advocated this change, even to the point of refusing to abandon the right of privateering in 1856 unless all property, other than contraband, should be declared free from maritime capture. Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, have all, within the last half century, either adopted in their own practice or offered to adopt the American view, and continental jurists have almost without exception denounced the existing law. Last year President Roosevelt declared in favor of a new international conference at The Hague, and notified that among other matters for deliberation the United States intended again to press this very subject on the attention of the powers. Unquestionably the American President, with the immense authority he now wields, will exert every effort to maintain his point. I trust that his Majesty's government will avail themselves of this unique opportunity. I urge it not upon any ground of sentiment or of humanity (indeed, no operation of war inflicts less suffering than the capture of unarmed vessels at sea), but upon the ground that on the balance of argument coolly weighed the interests of Great Britain will gain much from a change long and earnestly desired by a great majority of other powers.

It may also be safely asserted that the judgment of many eminent English writers on international law has been pronounced in support of the American doctrine.

Nor have continental authorities been backward in support of the same policy. Chateaubriand declared on behalf of the French

king that could all nations be induced to agree to the principle, "his Majesty would congratulate himself on having given a salutary example, and in having proved that without compromising the success of war its scourge could be abated."

Count Nesselrode, who for many years controlled the foreign affairs of Russia, expressed himself to Mr. Middleton, the American minister at St. Petersburg, who negotiated the treaty of 1824 between the two countries:

> That the emperor sympathized with the opinions and wishes of the United States, and as soon as the powers whose consent was indispensable to make it effective was obtained, he would authorize his minister to discuss the different articles of an act which would be a crown of glory to modern diplomacy.

And many eminent continental writers on international law, whose authority is not limited to the boundaries of their own country, such as Bluntschli, Calvo, Rolin-Jaequemyns, Pierantoni, Ahrens, Perels, Dupuis and De Martens, might be cited in strong support of the same view.

By authority of President Roosevelt, we ask for the adoption by the conference of this historic American doctrine on broad humanitarian grounds, as tending greatly to promote the cause of civilization, as removing the last relic of barbarism in maritime warfare, and as a great principle of justice which is sure to advance the cause of peace, as indispensable in the general interests of neutrals, and for the preservation of the integrity of commerce in which the community of interest of all nations is at last finally established.

There is no reason for the immunity of private property upon land from wanton plunder and destruction, which does not equally apply to similar property upon the sea. We do not ignore or in any way seek to evade the rules of military law by which private property upon land may be occupied and held for legitimate military purposes, such as making requisition for the support of armies, or for levying taxes, or with a view to ultimate annexation by the victor, of which the unrestricted right of commercial blockade is a fair equivalent on the sea.

But leaving aside all that part of military law which is undisputed, because it has no bearing upon the present question, we submit that there is a perfect analogy between the exemption of private property on land not needed for military purposes from spoliation and destruction, which is now established for centuries by the usage of nations, and a similar exemption which we claim for private property on the sea, not needed for military purposes.

We do not deny that a private house and its contents, which stood in the way of a hostile advancing army, in its efforts to reach and attack the other belligerent, might properly be swept away and be entitled to no exemption. But nothing can be better settled than that, apart from the military necessities already referred to, for the commander of an army to send out forces for the purpose of robbing private houses of their contents and destroying the residences of unoffending noncombatants would be a gross violation of every principle of justice and good morals and of the existing laws of war; and to this extent, in the same way, the wanton spoliation of noncombatant ships and cargoes not needed for military purposes, for the mere purpose of enriching the captors or their government, or of terrorizing the unfortunate owners and their government and coercing them to submit to the will of the triumphant belligerent and to accept his terms, is abhorrent to every principle of justice and of right, and ought to be remitted to the same category of condemnation in which similar outrages upon noncombatants on land are now universally included.

It may not be out of place at this point to define the limits of the concession which our proposition demands of belligerent nations, or of those who are liable at any time to become so. In demanding the exemption of enemy ships, with whatever cargo they may contain, from capture and destruction, we are but following in the footsteps of Great Britain and the other parties to the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and carrying to its logical conclusion the great step in advance toward the amelioration of the horrors of war that was then made by them. By her Order in Council of April 15, 1854, Great Britain declared that her Majesty, being desirous of rendering the war (that is, the Crimean War) as little onerous as possible to the powers with whom she remained at peace, and in order to preserve the commerce of neutrals from all unnecessary obstruction, was willing to waive a part of the belligerent rights appertaining to her by the law of nations, and "that her Majesty would waive the right of seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel unless it be contraband of war," which was a wide and magnanimous departure from the doctrine which up to that time she had tenaciously held of the right of seizing enemy's goods wherever found.

The credit of this first step in this progress to peace belongs exclusively to Great Britain, and should be universally acknowledged, as it is a complete answer to any suggestion that she stands in the way of such progress. The declaration that followed the close of the

war, signed by the representatives of France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Turkey and England, established this first step as a full and final one on the part of those nations and of about forty other states which have since given in their adherence. And, as Mr. Sheldon Amos says, "It is well known that the continual refusal to adhere on the part of the United States is solely due to their insisting on securing still greater immunities for commerce as the price of abandoning their right to use privateers."

The reason which the United States of America gave for refusing to adhere to the Declaration of Paris was that it did not go far enough, in that while exempting from seizure merchandise, enemy's property, on neutral vessels, it did not carry that doctrine to its logical conclusion and exempt also from seizure ships belonging to individuals of the enemy.

In a letter addressed to the Count de Sartige, French minister at Washington, July 28, 1856, Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, proposed, in the name of his government, to add to the first article of the Declaration of Paris (abolishing privateering) the following words: "And the private property of subjects or citizens of any one of the belligerent powers shall not be subject to seizure by the vessels of the other unless they contain contraband of war." After saying, "Justice and humanity demand that this practice (of subjecting private property on the ocean to seizure by belligerents) should be abandoned, and that the rule in relation to such property on land should be extended to it when found upon the high seas."

And he justified his proposition in an elaborate argument. Our position then was, and ever since has been, that we were ready to give up privateering whenever the other powers should consent to extend the principle of immunity to enemies' ships as well as to their goods on neutral vessels.

It is significant that Russia welcomed the proposition of Mr. Marcy in terms that deserve to be recalled. In September, 1856, Prince Gortschakov wrote to the Russian minister at Washington:

> Your Excellency will have occasion at Paris to take notice of the note of Mr. Marcy, in which the proposition of America is developed in a manner so able and so luminous that it commands conviction. The Secretary of State does not give exclusive weight to the interest of the United States. He maintains that of all the peoples. He has supported this generous idea by arguments which admit no reply. The attention of the emperor has been excited to the highest degree by these overtures of the American cabinet. In its way of putting the question they deserve to be taken into serious consideration by the powers signatory to the Treaty of Paris. They would honor themselves in proclaiming to the world in a unanimous

resolution the principle that the inviolability which they have always recognized as to private property on land should be also extended to that property at sea. They would thus crown the work of pacification which has called them together, and they would give to peace a new guaranty of duration. By order of the emperor you are invited to lay these views before the minister of foreign affairs and to let him know that if the American proposition becomes the subject of deliberation in common among the powers, it will receive a decided support on the part of the representative of his Imperial Majesty. You are likewise authorized to declare that your august master would be disposed to take the initiative in that matter.

And Mr. Laveleye says in the same connection: "The proposition of the United States was well received by all the other states signatory to the Congress of Paris, above all by France and Russia. Piedmont and Holland applauded it and even England did not reject it."

Since this declaration, all that remains to the parties to it, as belligerents, of the ancient right of capturing and destroying enemy's property, is limited to enemy's ships. And the question is, whether this remnant of belligerent right under present circumstances is of sufficient value for military purposes to justify a belligerent state in refusing to waive it in response to the general demand of public opinion already everywhere pronounced in the most emphatic manner, and which is sure, sooner or later, to command on the part of all nations obedience to its behests; for nations, like individuals, however powerful in themselves, are the subjects of public opinion, which in the end must rule the world.

As to the value of this remnant of belligerent right, it is to be observed that in modern times it has greatly diminished and still is rapidly diminishing. In ancient times it was perhaps the principal factor in maritime war,—the power to destroy enemy's property of every kind, public and private, wherever it could be found afloat. But now that war has properly come to be regarded as a test of strength between the organized armed forces, and the financial ability of the respective contestants to maintain the contest by sea and land, the power to destroy enemy's noncombatant ships upon the sea is no longer a very potent factor.

No instance, we think, can be found in modern wars of a war having been prevented or shortened by the exercise of this power, and the destruction of merchant shipping has been and is, and is likely to be, a comparatively trifling incident in the contests of nations. Take, for instance, our own Civil War, which lasted for four years, and during which, as we have said, our mercantile shipping was substantially destroyed or swept from the seas by a few Confederate cruisers. The

fact distressed us very much, but it exercised not the slightest influence in bringing the war to a close, which was brought about by the maintenance of an effective blockade and the overwhelming superiority of the military and financial power of the Union.

Our experience in that contest shows that the first thing that happens on the commencement of a war to which a maritime nation is a party, is the transfer to neutral flags and bottoms of the principal part of its carrying trade, and a transfer, by means of insurance against the war risk and largely to foreign nations, of liability to loss by the destruction of that which remains under the flag. So that this remnant of belligerent power, whether regarded as a deterrent from war or as a means of terrorizing the enemy's government and reducing it to submission as a means of terminating the war, has ceased to be an important factor.

Again, this remnant of right to destroy enemy's noncombatant merchant ships is not to be confounded with the right of blockade, which, if our demand is granted, will still remain in full force. It has been argued, on the part of those who would maintain for belligerents the continuance of the ancient practice, as if we were demanding some impairment of the right of blockade. But our proposition as we have stated it excludes all possibility of this idea, as we ask only for the exemption from capture of enemy's merchant ships not carrying contraband of war and not attempting to violate a blockade.

It is, therefore, for every nation to judge for itself whether, since the Declaration of Paris which gave much more than half the right away, and since these changes in modern methods of business which have so materially minimized the value of the remnant of the right, it is of sufficient importance to justify it in refusing to abandon what remains, in deference to the general demand of the civilized world, and whether it may not safely comply with this demand and give up what is of so little value, and carry out to its logical conclusion the humane reform of the evils of war, which was so nobly commenced in 1854 and 1856.

On behalf of the United States of America we make this appeal to our sister nations to give their assent to our humane and pacific proposition which we for more than a century have sought to bring about. First, on humanitarian grounds. The capture and destruction of enemy's private property at sea, belonging to unoffending noncombatants who are pursuing international trade, not for their own benefit alone, but for the common benefit of the world, is the last remaining

element of ancient piracy. To despoil innocent and unoffending merchants, who are taking no part in the war, of their ships and the goods contained in them, or to destroy them if the convenience of the captors requires, savors of the savagery of ancient war. It ought no longer to be tolerated by civilized nations. And as it is generally accompanied by holding, under most unwholesome conditions, the crews of the captured ships, this greatly adds to the cruelty and barbarity of the proceeding. As matters now stand, the damage to the individual owners far outweighs any possible benefit to the belligerent state.

Secondly, we place it on the ground, more important still, of the unjustifiable interference with innocent and legitimate commerce, which concerns not alone the nation to which the ship belongs but the whole civilized world. The growth and development of international trade and commerce during the last fifty years is one of the marvels of history. It tends more than anything else to bind the nations together in the bonds of peace, and creates a community of interest, which is immediately disturbed by any violent interference with it in any part of the globe. There is hardly an interest in any nation that is not immediately disturbed and subjected to jeopardy and loss by any such interference.

The merchant ship itself is but a fragment, and an inconsiderable fragment, of the commercial adventure in which it is engaged. The transportation of the cargo interests generally the neutral world and that interest ramifies in all directions. And the capture and destruction of the ship involves all such interests in damage and ruin. As a very distinguished English writer has said:

> The organization of international trade demands for its conditions stability and confidence, and whatever impairs these not only to that extent weakens the organization but goes a long way to destroy it.
>
> But the capture of private property at sea is simply the ruin of this organization and of all on which it depends. Were maritime wars at all more common than they are, international trade would be impossible and the most pacific nations would suffer equally with those most frequently belligerent. As it is, the miserable and trivial gains acquired by making maritime prizes, and the loss occasioned to the enemy's resources by hampering his commerce, make but a poor compensation for the utter disorder in which even the capturing state involves its own trade, and the widespread confusion and disaster which is spread on every side among neutral states.

We insist upon our proposition in the third place as a direct advance toward the limitation of war to its proper province,—a contest between the armed forces of the states by land and sea against each

other and against the public property of the respective states engaged. If this rule, which we advocate, is adopted by the common concurrence of nations, that portion of destructive war which has heretofore wrought only mischief to mankind will be put an end to, and armies and fleets, instead of being employed for the protection or destruction of innocent property of noncombatants, will be left to their proper duty of fighting each other, of maintaining blockades, and protecting seacoasts. If it be said as was objected by Lord Palmerston already quoted, and who afterward changed his mind and in 1862 declared, "that if we adopted these principles we should almost reduce war to an exchange of diplomatic notes," we reply, as Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury) did in the House of Commons, "Well, that would be a result which we could contemplate not only with equanimity but with satisfaction."

"The tendency of history," he declared, "had been to render wars more humane as civilization progressed, and the extension of the Declaration of Paris to all property afloat was merely another step in that direction."

And finally we object to the old practice and insist upon our demand for its abolition on the ground that it is now no longer necessary, and that it tends to invite war and to provoke new wars as a natural result of its continuance.

At the present day, by the general consent of the civilized nations of the world, and independently of any expressed treaty or other public act, it is an established rule of international law that coast fishing vessels, with their implements and supplies, cargoes and crews unarmed, and honestly pursuing their peaceful calling, are exempt from capture as prize of war. This rule is one which prize courts, administering the law of nations, are bound to take judicial notice of and to give effect to, in the absence of any treaties or other public acts of their own government in relation to the matter.

The reason given is a purely humanitarian one, that they are engaged in feeding the hungry even though it be the hungry of the other belligerent, and that it would be too hard to snatch from poor fishermen the means of earning their bread.

This matter was well put by Louis XVI, when his forces were engaged in the American War of Independence, in a letter addressed by him on June 5, 1779, to his admiral, informing him that the wish he had always had of alleviating as far as he could the hardships of wars had directed his attention to that class of his subjects which

devoted itself to the trade of fishing and had no other means of livelihood; that he had thought that the example which he should give to his enemies, and which could have no other source than the sentiments of humanity which inspired him, would determine them to allow to fishermen the same facilities which he should consent to grant; and that he had therefore given orders to the commanders of all his ships not to disturb English fishermen nor to arrest their vessels laden with fresh fish, even if caught by those vessels, provided they had no offensive arms and were not proved to have made any signals creating a suspicion of intelligence with the enemy. The capture and ransom by a French cruiser of the *John and Sarah*, an English vessel coming from Holland, laden with fresh fish, were pronounced to be illegal. The whole subject was fully considered by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *The Paquette Habana*, 175 U. S. 677.

In the changed conditions of commerce and of naval warfare at the present day it is difficult to understand why the same principle of immunity should not be extended to the unarmed vessels of the enemy which are engaged in the peaceful pursuit of "exchanging the products of different places and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences and comforts of life more easy to obtain."

The temptation to any nation desiring or likely to be engaged in war to attack and prey upon the mercantile marine of its adversary as a first blow to impair his strength is very pressing and urgent, and is an inducement much more likely to lead to war than is the fear of a similar attack from the adversary a deterrent from it, especially in the case of a nation that itself has a small mercantile marine but can muster cruisers or gunboats sufficient to attack the unarmed merchant vessels of the other side upon the sea.

And history shows us many instances where the spoliation of a nation's commerce has led, out of revenge and a spirit of retaliation, to new wars. Indeed our own experience, as the result of our Civil War, is a marked illustration of this tendency. The destruction of our mercantile marine necessarily led, under the circumstances which brought it about, to the presentation on our part of what were known as the Alabama Claims, the existence of which, unsettled, produced for many years a very disturbing and imbittered state of feeling between us and Great Britain, which was finally and happily relieved by the exercise of mutual patience and forbearance in sending the whole subject for amicable adjustment to the arbitration at Geneva,

which resulted in the restoration of friendship and good feeling between the two countries which have subsisted to the present day.

To quote again from the distinguished writer to whom we have already referred: "There is no doubt that the widespread irritation occasioned by the capture of private property at sea as much as on land is one of the main provocatives of enduring national hatred."

Apart from all historical and ethical points of view, it may well be claimed that there is another strong ground in support of the immunity of private property at sea not needed for military purposes, for which we contend. From economical considerations it is no longer worth the while of maritime nations to construct and maintain ships of war for the purpose of pursuing merchant ships which have nothing to do with the contest. The marked trend of naval warfare among all great maritime nations at the present time is to dispense with armed ships adapted to such service, and to concentrate their entire resources upon the construction of great battle ships whose encounters with those of their adversaries shall decide any contest, thus confining war, as it should be, to a test of strength between the armed forces and the financial resources of the combatants on sea and land. It is probable that, if the truth were known, there has been an actual diminution by all the maritime nations in the construction of war vessels adapted to the pursuit of merchantmen, and indeed a sale or breaking up of such vessels which had been for some time in service. Indeed, none of the great navies now existing could afford to employ any of their great and costly ships of war or cruisers in the paltry pursuit of merchantmen scattered over the seas. The game would not be worth the candle, and the expense would be more than any probable result.

This presents in another form the idea already referred to, that war has come to be, as it should be, a contest between the nations engaged, and not between either nation and the noncombatant citizens or individuals of the other nation; and it results from it that the noncombatant citizens should be let alone, and that no amount of pressure that can be brought to bear upon them will have any serious effect in preventing or shortening any controversy.

We believe it to be true also that the policy and the necessary policy of maritime states to-day is to concentrate their fleets, so as to be prepared to meet any emergency of war with the aggregate force of such fleets, which practically will forbid to any considerable extent the pursuit of scattered merchantmen.

It is not within our province, nor would the proprieties of the

occasion permit us, to attempt to convince the representatives of any nation taking part in this conference that its own national interest requires it to give up the ancient practice and accept our proposition. There seems in several of the nations to be some division of opinion upon the subject, the merchants, the statesmen, the jurists and the majority of the press being generally in favor of our proposition.

What we hope to do is to satisfy the conference as a body, and that by a great majority, that the general welfare of all the nations together, as having a community of interest in the commerce of the world, requires the adoption of the principle of immunity of private property at sea, with the exceptions embodied in our proposition. Of course it will require an agreement of all to bring about a passage of a resolution in the name of the conference, and thereby to put an end to the existing practice. But we feel so strongly that our cause is just, and that the general opinion of the nations is with us, that we deem it extremely desirable that after the discussion a vote shall be taken of all the nations engaged in the conference, with the hope that although such a vote may not result in the adoption of a unanimous decision, it will so impress the nations who dissent, as to dissuade them in future conflicts from carrying the existing rule any longer into actual practice, except in the last necessity. The strict international legal right of capture may remain unimpaired, but the moral effect of a general expression of opinion against it may prevent its any longer being carried into actual operation.

It is not incumbent and may not be proper for us at this time to anticipate the objections which will be raised and presented to our proposition. But one or two which have already been often presented in public discussion may properly be referred to.

It is said that the most effective means of preventing war is to make it as terrible as possible, and that to this end the destruction of private property at sea, carrying havoc among private owners and to a certain extent enfeebling the government and nation of which they form a part, is a justifiable expedient.

We deny that it is the duty or the right of any nation to make war as horrible as possible, and that no such proposition can for a moment be tolerated by any conference of civilized states. If it be true, the whole labor that has been expended in the last fifty years toward mitigating the horrors of war, toward preventing its recurrence and bringing about its speedy termination, has been wasted and spent in vain. If it be true that our duty is to make war as horrible as

possible, let us undo all that we have accomplished since the world set itself seriously at work to prevent and mitigate the horrors of war. Let us repeal the Declaration of Paris. Let us resume all the savage practices of ancient times. Let us sack cities and put their inhabitants to the sword. Let us bombard undefended towns. Let us cast to the winds the rights of security that have been accorded to neutrals. Let us make the sufferings of soldiers and sailors in and after battle as frightful as possible. Let us wipe out all that the Red Cross has accomplished at Geneva, and the whole record of the First Peace Conference at The Hague, and all the negotiations and lofty aspirations that have resulted in the summoning of the present conference.

Of course there is no truth or sanity in such a brutal suggestion. Our duty is not to make war as horrible as possible, but to make it as harmless as possible to all who are not actually engaged in it, to prevent it as far as we can, to bring it to an end as speedily as we can, to mitigate its evils as far as human ingenuity can accomplish that result, and to limit the engines and instruments of war to their legitimate use,—the fighting of battles and the blockading and protection of seacoasts.

Again, it is urged that the retention of this ancient right of capture and detention is necessary as the only means of bringing war to an end; that when you have destroyed the fleets of your enemy and conquered its armies, it has no object in suing for peace as long as its commerce and its communication by transportation with other nations in the way of trade is left undisturbed.

But this seems to us to be a purely fanciful and imaginary proposition. The history of modern wars and, in fact, of all wars shows that the decisive victory over an enemy by the destruction of his fleets and the defeats of his armies is sure to bring about peace. The test of strength to which the parties appealed has thereby been decided, and there is no further object in continuing the war.

The picking up or destruction of a few harmless and helpless merchantmen upon the sea will have no appreciable effect in reducing the government and nation to which they belong to submission, if the defeat of fleets and armies has not accomplished that result. Besides, there is a limit to the legitimate right of the victor upon the seas, for the time being, to employ his power for purposes of destruction. Victory in naval battles is one thing, but ownership of the high seas is another. In fact, rightly considered, there is no such thing as

ownership of the seas. According to the universal judgment and agreement of nations they have been and are always free seas, free for innocent and unoffending trade and commerce, and in the interest of mankind in general they must always remain so.

Again, it has been urged that the power to strike at the mercantile marine of other nations is a powerful factor in deterring them from war; that the merchants having such great interests involved, liable to be sacrificed by the outbreak of war, will do their utmost to hold their government back from provoking to or engaging in hostilities. But this we submit is a very feeble motive. Commerce and trade are always opposed to war, but have little to do with causing or preventing it. The vindication of national honor, accident, passion, the lust of conquest, revenge for supposed affront, are the causes of war, and the commercial interests, which would be put in jeopardy by it, have seldom if ever been persuasive to prevent it.

And as to its continuance or termination, commerce really has nothing to do with it. When the military and financial strength of one side is exhausted, the war, according to modern methods, must come to an end, and the noncombatant merchants and traders have no more to do with bringing about that consummation than the clergymen and schoolmasters of a nation.

Once more, it is said that the bloodless capture of merchant ships and their cargoes is the most humane and harmless employment of military force that can be exercised, and that in view of the community of interest in commerce to which we have referred, and the practice of insurance in distributing the loss, the effect of such captures upon the general sentiment and feeling of the nation to which they belong is most effective as a means of persuading their government to make peace.

But we reply that, bloodless though it be, it is still the extreme of oppression and injustice practiced upon unoffending and innocent individuals, and that it has no appreciable effect in reaching or compelling the action of the government of which the sufferers are subjects.

We appeal then to our fellow-delegates assembled here from all nations in the interest of peace, for the prevention of war and the mitigation of its evils, to take this important subject into serious consideration, to study the arguments that will be presented for and against this proposition, which has already enlisted the sympathy and support of the people of many nations, to be guided not wholly by the individual interest of the nations that they represent, but to

determine what shall be for the best interest of all the nations in general, and whether commerce, which is the nurse of peace and of international amity, ought not to be preserved and protected, although it may require from a few nations the concession of the remnant of an ancient right, the chief real value of which has long since been extinguished.

In the consideration of such a question the interest of neutrals, who constitute at all times the great majority of the nations, ought to be first considered; and if they will declare, on this occasion, their adhesion to the humane and beneficent proposition which we have offered, we may rest assured that, although we may fail of unanimous agreement, such an expression of opinion will represent the general judgment of the world and will tend to dissuade those of us who may become belligerents from any future exercise of this right, which is so abhorrent to every principle of justice and fair play.

NOTE.

Secretary Hay, in his instructions to the American delegates to the First Hague Conference, in 1899, after reviewing the eight articles in the program suggested by the Russian minister of foreign affairs for discussion at the Conference, stating clearly his views upon them successively for the guidance of the delegates, then enjoined the delegates to propose at an opportune moment the plan for an international tribunal, and also the consideration of the immunity of private property at sea. Upon this subject he wrote as follows:

> Since the Conference has its chief reason of existence in the heavy burdens and the cruel waste of war, which nowhere affect innocent private persons more severely or unjustly than in the damage done to peaceable trade and commerce, especially at sea, the question of exempting private property from destruction or capture upon the high seas would seem to be a timely one for consideration. As the United States has for many years advocated the exemption of all private property not contraband of war from hostile treatment, you are authorized to propose to the Conference the principle of extending to strictly private property at sea the immunity from destruction or capture by belligerent powers which such property already enjoys on land as worthy of being incorporated in the permanent law of civilized nations.

Mr. Choate, in his address at the Second Hague Conference, here printed, reports the action which was taken by the First Conference upon the proposal submitted by the United States delegation in accordance with these instructions of Secretary Hay. In submitting the memorial, our first delegate, Andrew D. White, made an able speech upon the subject, to which the student is referred. He is also referred to the note concerning the discussion and action at the Second Hague Conference prefixed by Dr. Scott to Mr. Choate's address as included in Dr. Scott's edition of "American Addresses at the Second Hague Peace Conference," published by the World Peace Foundation. The Foundation also publishes, in its Pamphlet Series, the complete texts of Secretary Hay's and Secretary Root's Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907.

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street Boston, Mass.

WHAT CAN MILITARY FORCE DO IN MEXICO?*

By Norman Angell

What does military intervention in Mexico mean? It does not mean what military intervention did in a case like that of Cuba, where a whole population had risen against an alien government, where we helped the population to turn the alien government out and then withdrew. That is not the case in Mexico. It might have been somewhat analogous to that if a year ago we had intervened for the purpose of supporting the Constitutionalists as against the Federalists, had taken sides in Mexican politics, that is, in favor of one party as against another, assured the triumph of that party and then withdrawn. That is not possible to-day. Even if it were possible to balance rights and wrongs, all the evidence goes to show that one party is very little better fitted than the other permanently to maintain good government and order in the Anglo-Saxon sense. If we intervene in Mexico, that intervention must have some meaning and some permanent result. Merely to push our way to Mexico City, make a proclamation, establish a Mexican party in power and withdraw, would be to expose ourselves to the risk of having the embroglio just as bad a year or five years hence.

Unless checked in its earlier stages, and unless the Government and people solemnly and betimes decree that there shall be no conquest, the political momentum of penetration into Mexico—the fact that when we get started full swing along a certain political road it is impossible to stop even if we wish—will carry us very far. It has already been urged in public by a prominent military man that it should carry us through to the Panama Canal. Our entrance into Mexico will not endear the United States to Spanish Americans and we shall find the American flag insulted, American citizens assaulted and American property destroyed in Nicaragua, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Haiti, and sooner or later, since politics either goes back or forward and we shall not go back, we shall go forward, and the job we shall have taken on will

*Reprinted from the *Independent*, May 4, 1914

occupy us a generation or two. You think that excessive? Well, do a little sum in proportion.

The Transvaal Boers were a population of about a hundred thousand, living in a poor territory that barely supported them; unable, once the war started, to import arms or ammunition. Yet in order finally to overcome them Great Britain (who despite all one may say has had great experience and as much success as any in this kind of war) had to employ 400,000 men, spend $1,200,000,000, and take three years over the job. Now the Mexicans do not number 100,000, they number some 12,000,000, having qualities, in some respects, resembling those of the Boers, which fit them for guerrilla warfare. They are natural horsemen, accustomed to the use of the rifle, to very hard and simple conditions of life; and live in a country physically not unlike the Transvaal. The population is able to support itself and possesses, probably, owing to the national habit of revolution, great reserves of small arm ammunition. As a people they have defeated two great European powers—Spain when she was a great power and the army of Maximilian, recruited from among some of the best soldiers in Europe.

Maximilian did, as a matter of fact, hammer his way to the Mexican capital and set up his government there with apparent success. His Empress started a gay court, gave brilliant balls and dinners to the Diplomatic Corps, and for a time in Europe it was accepted that Maximilian had established his power in Mexico. He issued a proclamation to the effect "that the government of Mexico is now in the hands of His Majesty, the Emperor Maximilian. The only fighting which is going on in Mexico is that between bandits and the police." Six months after the issue of that proclamation the army of Maximilian had been driven into the sea; the Emperor himself had been placed against a wall, and shot.

It must not be supposed that these cases are exceptional. Take that of the Italians in Tripoli. That venture also was to be a mere military picnic. Yet the Italians, although confronted only by ill-disciplined, wandering Arab tribes, and few in number at that, have had to employ an army of over 100,000 men, one of the best equipped armies in Europe. Eighteen months after the declaration of war their lines had been pushed about eight or ten miles from the coast. That is to say, they could not draw a line ten miles inland parallel with the coast and declare this strip to be secure. The French were forty years "pacifying" Algeria.

When the question of the Boer War first presented itself to the British people, the military party, which I am afraid generally behaves that way in such circumstances, made light of the problem. We were given to understand that 20,000 or 30,000 men at a cost of $50,000,000 would suffice, and the officers of the army talked, we know, of "eating their Christmas dinner in Pretoria," it then being October. What it did involve we now know. But it is what follows the military problem in these cases which is important. Take again the case of the Boers.

Within less than ten years of the complete conquest of the Transvaal by Great Britain, we find by some miracle that the head of the Government of the Transvaal is the Boer general who led the forces in the field against Great Britain. Not merely is he the head of the Government of the Transvaal, but he is the head of the whole of South Africa, including the British colonies. And this Boer general, finding the presence of some ten Englishmen inconvenient politically to him, instructs the Governor-General (you will note my terms), who is about the only British official left in the country, to proclaim martial law. This is forthwith done and the Boer general, far exceeding anything which President Kruger (or for that matter President Huerta) would have dared to do, has these men arrested in their houses at midnight and put on a ship. He gives instructions to the captain that he is on no account to stop anywhere on the way, but to proceed straight to London and dump those men on the sidewalk.

The English Parliament, a little astonished that a conquered people should act thus toward its conquerors, put certain questions to the minister of the colonies, and that minister is obliged in effect to make this kind of explanation: "It having been found impracticable at the close of the war permanently to maintain an army of half a million or a million men in the Transvaal, it had been found necessary to grant the country colonial self-government; so that now the British Parliament had in effect no authority there whatsoever." "And that," as one member of Parliament remarked, "is called conquering the Boers." And that in effect is about as far as conquest in such conditions ever really gets.

A famous German general once made this remark: "You can do many things with bayonets, but you cannot sit on them." By which he meant of course that permanent occupation of a territory by military means has become progressively and cumulatively difficult. Bismarck realized that. It was a quite possible thing for his army

to fight its way through to Paris, propose terms of peace and withdraw. For the German army to have sat down in France, to have occupied the country militarily, to have attempted its administration as a conquered province of the German Empire, this he knew to be militarily an impossibility. When he took over Alsace he assumed that he was taking over a German province, which by its historical associations would easily gravitate to the German orbit. How different has been the result we all know.

It is important to realize something of the factors which in our generation have so developed as to render the social and moral possessions of a people, that thing which we call nationality, indestructible.

When the Normans went into England, the English landowners were turned neck and crop out of their estates, which were then given to Norman landowners, who, so far as they were able, compelled the population to speak Norman French of a kind, and to have their differences settled by Norman law, such as it was.. By these simple means the language of the country became Norman French. But this process, or anything resembling it, has now become impossible by reason of certain quite definite economic facts. We cannot confiscate the land of a conquered people in our day, nor tear up titles to property, nor reverse the decisions of their courts, because if we did we should find that our banks or insurance companies or business men were in some way interested in the security of such titles to property; that banks had advanced money on the mortgages to such property, using, it may be, the money of insurance companies in which the citizens of the conqueror are insured. Then again we desire the population of a conquered territory as a market; we cannot therefore ruin them; still less can we kill them. The mass of the people, guaranteed in the security of their ordinary possessions, can effectively resist administrative measures designed to break their national habit in the way of language and customs.

The Germans have made this discovery even in provinces which they have held for half a century, like their Polish, Alsatian and French provinces. The German Government sets out, for instance, to stamp out the Polish language and attempts to compel the Polish peasant to send his child to the German school instead of to the Polish one and to compel the parent to have his children say their prayers in German. Yet since the German Government is compelled to respect private property, the titles to land and so forth, the Polish peasant, knowing that he cannot be turned out of his farm and that his liveli-

hood is secure, continues to send his child to the Polish school and to teach him to say his prayers in Polish. Germany cannot dispossess a whole population. Thus it comes that the outstanding fact of German administration in the Polish and Alsatian provinces is that the attempt at "Germanization" has failed. Polish is more predominant to-day in those provinces than ever; Lorraine is more French than ever.

Even Napoleon, long before these social and economic forces had received their full development, realized the impossibility of sitting permanently upon bayonets. When, in appearance, he had conquered the whole of the European continent; when he had, as we learned in our school books, "rolled up the map of Europe," he realized in a flash of intuition that the whole thing was destined to failure. He said one day, "I have come too late; the nations are too firmly set."

I do not want to imply by all this that the United States cannot "conquer" Mexico; cannot indeed "conquer" all the peoples down to the Panama Canal. She can, of course, if she wants to give the bulk of her national effort to such a purpose. But I do mean that necessarily it will not be a military picnic, a matter of six weeks, six months or six years. If England had to employ as against the Boers an army numbering two or three times the entire population of the Transvaal, what sort of army shall we need to conquer a population of some twenty millions (I am thinking of that conquest through to Panama) to whom guerrilla warfare is meat and drink? If we start upon it, it is going to be the main preoccupation of American politics, the concentration of national effort, for a generation or perhaps more.

After we have established our power, there will come agitations, mutinies and rebellions, as a necessary part of the problem of absorbing into our body politic some twenty millions of people, who do not speak our language, who have inherited entirely different traditions and moral and social outlook, whose law is fundamentally different from ours, whose institutions, social, religious, domestic and political, are unlike ours; a people alien in language, race, instinct and law, having (however unruly and half civilized) these institutions sufficiently solidified to be incapable of destruction or serious remolding. We shall devise special constitutions for these people; there will be a Mexican home rule party; it will all be very interesting and very exciting; but it will have one rather important secondary result. We shall, speaking in terms of practical politics, be forgetting one detail the whole time. That detail is the welfare of the American people.

That is the real price of the whole thing. The other thing, the cost in men and money, we can stand. We can conquer the Mexicans, Nicaraguans, San Salvadoreans, Costa Ricans, Guatemalans, San Dominicans, just as the British have conquered the Irish. But the conquest of Ireland has been going on (with lucid intervals) for three centuries; and now the English people have decided that the best thing they can do is to "unconquer" the Irish; and even that is proving very difficult. And they have decided that they must undo the work of conquest, for this reason: so long as the English were the masters of Ireland they, the English, could not attend to their own business. For the best part of a century all the really important English crises have turned in large part around the Irish question; have depended on the action of the Irish party. All methods have been tried with Ireland. The country was filled with soldiers and the people were killed like cattle. That failed. Ireland was planted with English settlers; that created still worse difficulty. The Irishmen were then brought to Westminster; and, forthwith, they began to dominate English politics because, not caring a rap how they gave their vote in English politics, they held the balance of power. Thus it comes that the military labors of three centuries and the work for which so many Englishmen have laid down their lives and for which England has spent such mountains of treasure is to be undone—because nothing else can be done.

In conquering the Spanish-American of the northern half of this hemisphere, we shall annex an Irish problem to the south of us. While we are wrestling with the problem of restricting immigration of white people from Russia and elsewhere, we shall be spending a generation in the forcible immigration of twenty or thirty millions of people who are not white (or at least not very white), and we shall be taking into our body politic a foreign element in just such a form as to be incapable of assimilation. It cannot be too often repeated that the price of this interesting operation will be the capacity of the American people to manage their own society.

It is important to make that point plain. The average American, after showing a capacity equaled by no other man in what may be termed the management of matter, the exploitation of the material resources of his country, finds that that is only half and perhaps the less difficult half of the problem of society. There remain for solution problems of a quite different nature,—the problems of human relationship; the decision as to the kind of society that America is going

to have, whether it is to be socialist or individualist; what we are to do about the control of capital, the distribution of wealth, the rights of property, the relation of sexes, the education of our children, the government of our cities—all these things represent problems which will need all the attention the collective mind of our people can give to them.

These are not simple things; they are very complex things, not to be settled by mere force, by the mere fact of passing laws and putting people in prison. In the earlier forms of machinery (when it is merely a matter of a lever or a pulley) physical power is the main thing needed. All you want is "beef on the rope," as the sailors say. But when you have a more complex machine, like an automobile, sheer physical force is a quite secondary thing. It serves no purpose that we have an instrument of force, a mere crowbar, that can smash the thing to pieces. We must know "how" or we cannot make it work. So with society.

I am one of those optimistic enough to believe that the American mind is perfectly capable of finding out how to work the social machine. But the American can do that only on one condition, namely, that he gives his mind to it. It is quite obvious that he cannot "know how" if he does not give his mind to it. And the price of going to Mexico will be that he will not, for a generation or two, give his mind to that at all, but to quite other things.

You know what happens when a war is on. The papers are filled with nothing else, people talk of nothing else, nobody gives any attention to anything else. And yet really the welfare of the American nation is a matter worth some attention. But it will not get any for the next twenty or thirty years if your philanthropy prompts you to charge yourself with settling the affairs of twenty millions of Spaniards and Indians. To the negro question, the Asiatic question, all the other racial questions that confront us you are going to add "the Great Greaser Question." If the history of the European nations has any lesson at all, it is that all of them which have been able to use the sword successfully have created for themselves problems, like the Irish problem, which have stood in the way of their own well-being. And now America, which might avoid this old error, seems in danger of committing it. It is possible that if we do this thing it may be good for the people of Mexico, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Venezuela; but this I know, that it will be immeasurably evil for the people of the United States.

Is there, then, nothing to be done?

All good work, whether in politics, sociology or medicine, we now know must be preventive. We cannot cure a case of consumption if the patient has destroyed his lungs; but we do know that we could make consumption as obsolete as leprosy if we were to tackle it systematically by preventive measures. So with political troubles. There may arise from neglect and bad political sanitation cases which simply cannot be "cured" by any one operation. But if ten years ago America had taken the lead, which she might have done, in the organization of the World State, she would have to-day an instrument for the exercise of pressure in a difficulty like that of Mexico far more effective than military force can ever be. It is known, of course, that there has already come into being an economic World State. If we are able to send a letter to the most obscure village of China, a telegram to any part of the world, to travel over most of the world in safety, to carry on trade therewith, it is because for a generation the post office departments of the world have been at work arranging traffic and communication details, methods of keeping their accounts; because the shipowners have been devising international signal codes, the bankers arranging conditions of international credit; because, in fact, not merely a dozen but some hundreds of international agreements, most of them made not between the governments at all but between groups and parties directly concerned, have been devised. But this World State which has been created lacks organization, co-ordination, a proper body and a proper mind. It has neither a capital nor a Parliament House nor an organization, not even a name; and that largely because the historic jealousies of the Old World have stood in the way of effective co-operation between the powers. But America, remote historically and geographically from these wrangles, occupying a position which renders her impartial, having shown beyond all other people efficiency and capacity, might give the World State these things—a capital, a form, an organization. In doing that she would give the impress of her civilization to the whole of the modern world. And she would also make a reality of a policy which, though formally adopted by the Administration, has been largely a fiction.

The Administration, even before the blockade, was supposed to be enforcing a policy of non-intercourse. But while the Department of State talked of non-intercourse, the Department of the Treasury was busy clearing ships for Mexico, facilitating the dispatch of mails,

etc. But if we had an agreement between all nations for enforcing a policy of real non-intercourse to any member of the community who should violate certain rules, you could automatically bring into operation an international machine which would insure that not a ship should be cleared, not a letter sent, not a telegram dispatched, not a dollar raised by way of loan.

And that is the utmost that the present blockade, the cost and risks of which fall in undue measure upon us, can insure. The other measure would obviate in advance those international complications, creators of further international ill-feeling and distrust, which all but infallibly follow upon enforced naval blockade, owing to the damage done to neutral nations. With an international machinery of non-intercourse such as that indicated, we could from the first have put pressure upon a military adventurer and the people supporting him. For Huerta or any one else does not seize the reins of government merely by walking into the palace in Mexico City; he must have backers, resources, money, the co-operation of people who hope to get something out of him. And as a matter of fact, he has been getting all that and been supported by large groups of influential Mexicans and foreigners. He is surrounded by people not at all in the game for their health. And incidentally Mexico until yesterday was indifferent. Although there was great disorder in the northern provinces, it was largely local. In Mexico City until April never was the season so gay, never was the attendance at bullfights so great. But Huerta would not have got this support if at the outset of his adventure business men could not have carried on their business, nor the banks maintained their communications with the outside world, if his Government could not have got money, either from within or from without. If we had had an instrument of this kind to use, or even the threat of it, it would have been possible to dictate, without war, that a government in Mexico should conform to certain conditions concerning the people and property of other nations. It might not at first be entirely effective. Neither are our present methods. . . . This policy of non-intercourse, enforced by agreement between the nations, would operate, I believe, more quickly, and most certainly more efficiently and more cheaply than invasion. And in the end it is by some such means that such results as military pressure can hope to obtain will be obtained, and by which military conquest with all its dire evils to the American people be avoided.

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World Peace Foundation

Pamphlet Series

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT OF 1817

FOR DISARMAMENT ON THE GREAT LAKES

BY

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE

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THE PERMANENT PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

It is the sincere wish and, so far as depends upon them, the determined intention of the American Government that the peace, so happily restored between the two countries, should be cemented by every suitable measure of conciliation and by that mutual reliance upon good faith, far better adapted to the maintenance of national harmony than the jealous and exasperating defiance of complete armor. The undersigned mentioned to his lordship the incident of an American merchant vessel having been fired upon by a British armed vessel upon Lake Erie. The increase of naval armaments on one side upon the Lakes during peace will necessitate the like increase on the other and, besides causing an aggravation of useless expense to both parties, must operate as a continual stimulus of suspicion and of ill-will upon the inhabitants and local authorities of the borders against those of their neighbors.

The moral and political tendency of such a system must be to war and not to peace. The American Government proposes mutually to reduce to the same extent all naval armaments upon those Lakes. The degree to which they shall be reduced is left at the option of Great Britain. The greater the reduction the more acceptable it will be to the President of the United States; and most acceptable of all should it be agreed to maintain on either side during the peace no other force than such as may be necessary for the collection of the revenue. . . . The undersigned may confidently hope that this proposal mutually and equally to disarm upon the American Lakes will be received and entertained in the same spirit in which it was made, as a pledge of intentions sincerely friendly and earnestly bent upon the permanent preservation of peace.—*Extract from John Quincy Adams's letter to Lord Castlereagh, March 21, 1816, containing a reiteration of the proposal for disarmament on the Great Lakes, first made by Mr. Adams, January 25, 1816.*

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT OF 1817 FOR DISARMAMENT.

The armed peace in which the great powers now live is based upon a tacit or expressed acceptance of these propositions:

1. The surest way to maintain peace is to be always well prepared for war;

2. In order to be well prepared for war a nation must increase its armaments annually if necessary in order to equal or surpass the corresponding force of any and all neighbors who might become aggressive.

The latter doctrine stimulates a universal competition in armaments which absorbs vast revenues but does not change the relative military and naval strength of the competitors. This is the belief which has produced an armed peace almost as demoralizing as the "organized insanity of war" itself. Imperial chancellors and financial ministers introduce military and naval budgets each year with pious expressions of regret that it is not yet safe to diminish such expenditures. Leaders of the people like Mr. Asquith express the hope that the people will at some time insist upon better methods of insuring the peace of the world, and such a statesman as Sir Edward Grey is confident that the ratio of the English fleet to that of its chief rival must not fall below 16 to 10, though he is willing to predict that the time will come when nations will run together to stop a war as readily and naturally as neighbors now run to put out a fire.

If these statesmen and leaders of the people would study the history of Anglo-American relations along our northern boundary since 1814, they would find a perfect object lesson in the methods by which international peace may be secured and maintained, even though many provocations to dissension be not lacking. More particularly they would find in the Agreement of 1817 concerning armaments on the Great Lakes a perfect illustration of the political wisdom that has created a transcontinental boundary nearly 4,000 miles long without in these latter days a single need of a fort, a cannon, or a soldier.

The uninterrupted peace of that boundary rests on the acceptance of these propositions:

1. The surest way to maintain peace is to prepare deliberately for permanent peace;

2. The permanence of peace will be insured by discarding the apparatus of war, and providing other means of settling controversies.

These ideas were adopted by English and American statesmen at the end of a sharp and bitter war wherein the lower Lakes and their shores and the upper St. Lawrence valley had been the scene of most of the military operations. It would have been natural to suppose that our northern border from Champlain to Superior would have become the breeding-place of enmities and fears like those which have existed for forty years between Metz and Belfort. Forts, soldiers and ships of war were still facing each other in hostile array along that border, and many under the Union Jack burned to wipe out what they considered the stain of defeats by Perry and Macdonough. Canadians were keenly aware that our war party had expected to annex all that colony, and both Canadians and Englishmen arose to demand that the Lakes must be all British, and that an Indian territory under English protection, including the lands south and west of the upper Lakes, must be interposed between Canada and its restless neighbor. Such was the first demand of the English commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ghent. England then felt burdened with the responsibility of defending in Canada a weak colonial frontier exposed to the ill-will or envy of an aggressive neighbor. The United States, on the other hand, looked with apprehension at the Canadian line, behind which one of the greatest powers in the world could at any time prepare an attack.

The idea of disarmament as a prevention of war was embodied in the instructions sent by Edmund Randolph, Washington's secretary of state, to John Jay in 1794.[1] Twenty years later Lord Castlereagh [2] placed among his instructions to the English commissioners at Ghent the following paragraph, later marked "*Not used*":

N.B. In order to put an end to the jealousies which may arise by the construction of ships of war on the Lakes, it should be proposed that the two contracting parties should reciprocally bind themselves not to construct any ships of war on

[1] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 473. This is the seventeenth item among the instructions for a commercial treaty.

[2] Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquis of Londonderry (1769–1822), from 1790 to the time of his death a leader of the Tory party, and in the period from 1812 to 1816 (he was secretary for foreign affairs from 1812 to 1822) he was the most influential statesman and diplomat in Europe.

any of the Lakes; and should entirely dismantle those which are now in commission, or are preparing for service.[3]

Mr. Gallatin also suggested to his colleagues in private conference the possibility of a mutual disarmament upon the Lakes, and wrote about it to Secretary Monroe,[4] but the subject was not broached in the official discussions at Ghent, except in the form of a British demand, soon dropped, that the United States alone should withdraw all force from the Great Lakes.[5]

When the war ceased our treasury was empty, and the military and naval expenditures on the Lakes, including the construction of two frigates on Lake Ontario, were practically suspended. By act of Congress, February 27, 1815, the President was authorized to sell or put out of commission all armed vessels on the Lakes except such as might be necessary for the enforcement of the revenue laws.

The British on the other hand had begun the construction of a frigate on Lake Champlain, and it was declared both in Canada and in England that the defenses and armaments in Canada would be steadily strengthened. In the spring and summer of 1815 complaints came that British armed vessels on the Lakes were exercising the right of search, English officers were accused of pursuing offenders into American territory, and on the other hand American officers were charged with inciting British soldiers to desert.

Meanwhile President Madison and his secretary examined some English newspapers sent in August by Minister Adams. These journals contained announcements that the Cabinet had determined to augment the naval force on the Great Lakes. The result was this letter of instruction to John Quincy Adams, now American minister to England:

> The information you give of orders having been issued by the British Government to increase its naval force on the Lakes is confirmed by intelligence from that quarter of measures having been actually adopted for the purpose.
>
> It is evident, if each party augments its force there, with a view to obtain the ascendancy over the other, that vast expense will be incurred and the danger

[3] See J. M. Callahan, *The Neutrality of the American Lakes*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1898, p. 61, quoting from "America," Vol. 128, Public Record Office, London.

[4] J. Q. Adams: *Memoirs*, III, 51; and H. Adams: *Writings of Gallatin*, I, 640.

[5] *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh*, Vol. X, 67–72, 86–91; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 717, 718. That the question of armaments on the Great Lakes continued to cause disquietude in the minds of the British ministers is shown in the correspondence between Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington in October and November, 1814, when the former was trying to persuade the Duke to go to America with full powers to make either peace or war. Under date of November 13, Lord Liverpool suggests that the American control of Lake Champlain might be conceded, but that British superiority on Lake Ontario ought to be established and maintained. See Wellington: *Supplementary Despatches*, IX, 405, 424, 430.

of collision augmented in like degree. The President is sincerely desirous to prevent an evil which, it is presumed, is equally to be deprecated by both Governments. He, therefore, authorizes you to propose to the British Government such an arrangement respecting the naval force to be kept on the Lakes by both Governments as will demonstrate their pacific policy and secure their peace. He is willing to confine it on each side to a certain moderate number of armed vessels, and the smaller the number the more agreeable to him; or to abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for the revenue. You will bring this subject under the consideration of the British Government immediately after the receipt of this letter.[6]

Before Mr. Adams had an opportunity to present the subject to Lord Castlereagh, he held an interesting conversation with his friend, Alexander Baring, in the counting-house of Baring Bros. and Company, and among many topics of interest that were discussed was that of Canada and its defenses.

"I said that the disposition on both sides seemed at present so pacific that I hoped we should have a long and quiet peace. I was sorry, however, to hear that they were increasing their armaments on the Lakes of Canada, because arming on one side would make it of course necessary to arm on the other, and we had been disposed, on the contrary, to disarm there.

"He said their arming was the foolishest thing in the world, 'for,' said he, 'we are "the lamb" in Canada; it is in vain for us to think of growing strong there in the same proportion as America. But surely our ministers will consent to disarm there on both sides.'

"I said they had always a sufficient security against a sudden attack upon Canada, by the exposed state of our commerce. He replied that he wished the British Government would give us Canada at once. It was not worth Sir James Yeo's hundred-gun ship,[7] and was fit for nothing but to breed quarrels."[8]

About a fortnight later, January 25, 1816, Mr. Adams met Lord Castlereagh by appointment. The best report of the conference is that which Adams confided to his journal:

Mr. Adams said: "A circumstance of still more importance is the increase of the British armaments, since the peace, on the Canadian Lakes. Such armaments on one side render similar and counter-armaments indispensable on the other. Both Governments must

[6] MS. Instructions to U. S. Ministers, VIII, 3; H. Doc. 471, 56 Cong. 1 sess. 5; Moore, Digest of International Law, I, 691–692.

[7] Sir James Lucas Yeo (1782–1818) was British naval commander on the Lakes during the war, with headquarters at Kingston, on Lake Ontario.

[8] Adams: *Memoirs*, III, 279.

thus be subjected to a heavy and in time of peace a useless expense, and every additional armament creates new and very dangerous incitements to irritation and acts of hostility. The American Government, anxious above all for the preservation of peace, has authorized me to propose a reduction of the armaments upon the Lakes on both sides. The extent of the reduction the President leaves at the pleasure of Great Britain, observing that the greater it is the more it will conform to his preference, and that it would best of all suit the United States if the armaments should be confined to what is necessary for the protection of the revenue."

Lord Castlereagh replied: "Does your Government mean to include in this proposition the destruction of the ships already existing there? As to keeping a number of armed vessels parading about the Lakes in time of peace, it would be absurd. There can be no motive for it, and everything beyond what is necessary to guard against smuggling is calculated only to produce mischief. The proposition you make is very fair, and, so far as it manifests pacific dispositions, I assure you, will meet with the sincerest reciprocal dispositions of this Government. I will submit the proposal to their consideration. But you know we are the weaker part there. Therefore it was that we proposed at Ghent that the whole Lakes should belong to one party—all the shores; for then armaments would not have been necessary. Then there would have been a large and wide natural separation between the two territories; and those, I think, are the best and most effectual to preserve peace."

Mr. Adams rejoined: "But the proposition at Ghent to which we objected was that the disarming should be all on one side. There was indeed afterward intimated to us by the British Plenipotentiaries an intention to make us a proposal so fair and reasonable, that it was thought no objection could be made against it. We did suppose that it was this identical proposition which I am now authorized to make. It was not, however, brought forward, nor was any explanation given by the British Plenipotentiaries of what they had intended by their offer. My instructions now do not explicitly authorize me to include in the agreement to keep up no armaments the destruction of the vessels already there; but, if this Government assents to the principle, there will be ample time to concert mutually all the details. What I could now agree to would be to have no armed force actually out upon the Lakes, and to build no new vessels."

Lord Castlereagh: "It so happened that just at the close of

the war we were obliged to make extraordinary exertions there, and to build a number of new vessels to maintain our footing there."

Mr. Adams: "But it is the new armaments since the peace which have necessarily drawn the attention of my Government."

Lord Castlereagh: "You have so much the advantage of us by being there, immediately on the spot, that you can always, even in a shorter time than we can, be prepared for defense."

Mr. Adams: "The stipulation to keep or build no new armed force during the peace would therefore be in favor of Great Britain, because the very act of arming would then be an act of hostility."

Lord Castlereagh: "That is, there could be no arming until the war actually commenced, and then you would have such an advance of time upon us by your position that we should not stand upon an equal footing for defense."

Mr. Adams: "Still the operation of the engagement would be in favor of Great Britain. We should have our hands tied until the movement of actual war, a state which it is impossible should suddenly arise on our part. It is impossible that war should be commenced by us without a previous state of things which would give ample notice to this country to be prepared. She might then have everything in readiness to commence her armament upon the Lakes at the same moment with us, and we should be deprived of the advantage arising from our local position."

Lord Castlereagh: "Well, I will propose it to the Government for consideration."[9]

Mr. Adams heard nothing further from his Lordship about this subject, so on March 21 he formally renewed the proposal. During the last week of that month and the first week in April, the topic of Canada and its relations to the United States and England was threshed out in the debates in the House of Commons on the navy estimates. Jingo speakers were in evidence[10] and Adams thought that the proposal was doomed. On April 9 he was perhaps agreeably surprised to learn from Lord Castlereagh that the British Government would accept the "proposal of the American Government that there might be no unnecessary naval force upon the Lakes in active service or in commission, so that there would be nothing like the

[9] Adams: *Memoirs*, III, 287–288.

[10] Hansard: Parl. Debates, Vol. 33, pp. 376–378, 567–591. Sir Joseph Yorke (p. 581) declared that the growing and gigantic naval power of America must not be overlooked. "She was no longer to be contended against by bumboat expeditions; her three-deckers now sailed upon fresh water," etc.

appearance of a dispute which side should have the strongest force there. The armed vessels might be laid up, as they called it here, in ordinary. It was in short the disposition of the British Government fully to meet the proposition made to them, and the only armed force which they should want to have in service might be vessels for conveying troops occasionally from one station to another."

Mr. Adams said that he had neither special instructions nor powers to conclude any final agreement on the subject, and now that the principle was mutually accepted that no new armaments should be made by either side, he suggested that it would save time and be perhaps most advisable that the proposal should be made immediately to the Government of the United States and through the British minister at Washington.[11]

The British minister at Washington was now Charles Bagot.[12] He received from Lord Castlereagh instructions, under date of April 23, 1816, empowering him to negotiate with our Government concerning armaments on the Lakes. Eight days before, Mr. Adams had written to inform Secretary Monroe concerning the agreement between the two ministers on April 9. Mr. Bagot, moving leisurely in the diplomatic manner, addressed his first formal message on this topic to Mr. Monroe on July 26, as follows:

Sir: Mr. Adams having intimated to His Majesty's Government that it was the wish of the Government of the United States that some understanding should be had, or agreement entered into, between the two countries in regard to their naval armaments upon the Lakes, which, while it tended to diminish the expenses of each country, might diminish also the chances of collision and prevent any feelings of jealousy, I have the honor to acquaint you that I have received Lord Castlereagh's instructions to assure you that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent will cheerfully adopt, in the spirit of Mr. Adams's suggestion, any reasonable system which may contribute to the attainment of objects so desirable to both states.

Mr. Adams not having entered into any detailed explanation of the precise views of his Government for giving effect to the principle which he had offered for consideration, the British Government is unacquainted with the particular arrangements which the Government of the United States would propose to make for this purpose; but I have been instructed to assure you of the general disposition of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to listen with satisfaction to any proposal which may secure such ends, and of his readiness to act in a spirit

[11] Adams: *Memoirs*, III, 329.

[12] Sir Charles Bagot (1781–1843), close friend of George Canning, British minister to the United States from 1815 to 1820, and after various other diplomatic services, governor-general of the united provinces of Canada, 1841–1843. He aided in the establishment of the first responsible ministry in a purely parliamentary government in Canada, much to the distress of his superior officers in the British ministry, whose severe censure virtually killed him.

of the most entire confidence upon the principle which has been suggested by Mr. Adams.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CHARLES BAGOT.[13]

The answer from Mr. Monroe was dated August 2, 1816. The first two paragraphs rehearse, according to custom, the substance of Mr. Bagot's letter, and then Mr. Monroe continues as follows:

I infer from your letter that you are desirous of obtaining a precise project, either for the purpose of acting on it here immediately, in conformity with the powers already given you, or of transmitting it to your Government for its consideration. Whether it be for the one or the other purpose, I am instructed to afford all the facility that I may be able; though it would, undoubtedly, be more agreeable to the President that the arrangement should be made and executed with the least delay possible

I have the honor now to state that the President is willing, in the spirit of the peace which so happily exists between the two nations, and until the proposed arrangement shall be canceled, in the manner hereinafter suggested, to confine the naval force to be maintained on the Lakes, on each side, to the following vessels, *i.e.*, on Lake Ontario, to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons burden and one 18-lb. cannon; and on the upper Lakes to two vessels of like burden and force; and on the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel not exceeding the like burden and force; and that all other armed vessels on those Lakes shall be forthwith dismantled; and likewise that neither party shall build or arm any other vessel on the shores of those Lakes.

That the naval force thus retained by each party on the Lakes shall be restricted in its duty to the protection of its revenue laws, the transportation of troops and goods, and to such other services as will in no respect interfere with the armed vessels of the other party.

That should either of the parties be of opinion, hereafter, that this arrangement did not accomplish the object intended by it, and be desirous of annulling it, and give notice thereof, it shall be void and of no effect after the expiration of — months from the date of such notice.

If this project corresponds with the views of your Government, and you are authorized to accede to it, under any modifications which you may propose, and in which we can agree, I am instructed to give it immediate effect, either by convention, the interchange of notes, or in any form which may be thought best adapted to the ends proposed.

If, on the other hand, you consider it your duty to submit this project to your Government for consideration, and to wait its sanction before you can adopt it, and have power to make, *ad interim*, any provisional reciprocal arrangement, having the same objects in view, I shall be happy to digest with you such provisional arrangement, and to carry it reciprocally into effect, for such time and in such manner, as may be agreed on; or should your powers be adequate, I am ready to

[13] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 202–207.

concur in an immediate suspension of any further construction or equipment of armed vessels for any of the waters above named.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed) JAMES MONROE.

The Right Hon. CHARLES BAGOT.

Mr. Bagot replied, August 6, that he was not authorized to conclude definitively any agreement as to details, but he adds:

I shall therefore immediately forward for consideration the proposal contained in your letter, but I shall in the meantime willingly take upon myself to give effect to any arrangement upon which we may mutually agree for the purpose of suspending the further construction and equipment of armed vessels upon the Lakes and of generally abstaining from exertion in those quarters.

Mr. Monroe, under date of August 12, 1816, answered thus:

To this delay no objection is entertained, provided such a provisional arrangement is made as may accomplish the just objects which our Governments have in view. This arrangement, however like the other, should be equal. In the same spirit, therefore, I now propose the regulations stated in my former note to be adopted as a provisional arrangement. If your powers authorize and you approve those regulations, on being assured that you will adopt a similar measure, an order will be immediately issued by this Government for carrying them fully into effect.

If your powers do not extend to this object, but are confined exclusively to the suspension of the further augmentation of the naval force on the Lakes, I have then to observe, that on receiving from you a statement of the force which your Government now has on the Lakes, with an assurance that its further augmentation shall be suspended, an order will be immediately issued by this Government for confining the naval force of the United States there strictly within the same limit.

Mr. Bagot replied the next day, August 13, that he was not authorized to make even provisionally any precise agreement concerning the limitation of the respective naval forces upon the Lakes; "... in any such agreement, whether permanent or provisional, reference must equally be had to the arrangements of a peace establishment and the ordinary administration of his Majesty's provinces. I am not in possession of a correct statement of his Majesty's naval force now in commission upon the Lakes, but I will take the earliest means of procuring and communicating to you the most accessible information upon this point; and I can in the meantime give you the assurance that all further augmentation of it will be immediately suspended."

On receiving Monroe's note of August 2, 1816, Bagot wrote to Castlereagh on August 12:

I found that besides a proposal for a much larger reduction of the Naval Force than seemed compatible with the ordinary business of a Peace Establishment, it contained certain restrictions as to the employment of the Vessels to be retained which appeared to me to have some object in view beyond the principal one . . . professed by the American Government. I therefore in returning the draft to Mr. Monroe, carefully avoided entering into any discussion whatever of the terms. . . . It is distinctly understood between Mr. Monroe and myself, that if, upon the receipt of my letter by the Commander of His Majesty's Naval Forces, any of the armed vessels now building shall be in that state of progress in which they cannot be laid up or dismantled without injury to the materials, it shall be permitted to complete them so far as is necessary for their preservation.

When Mr. Bagot referred the matter back to Lord Castlereagh, Secretary Monroe thought that Minister Adams would conclude the negotiations. Mr. Adams believed that the British ministry were merely playing with the proposal and seeking to gain time while they increased and perfected their armaments in North America. September 27, 1816, he wrote to Secretary Monroe:

While Mr. Bagot was negotiating and receiving your specific proposition to be transmitted here, 52,000 tons of ordnance stores have been dispatched to Canada with the avowed purpose of arming their new-constructed forts and new-built ships upon the Lakes.

Mr. Adams's doubts may have been strengthened by the news of events in Canada. The commander of the British ship *Tecumseh* on Lake Erie had boarded several United States vessels. Of this Mr. Adams complained to Lord Castlereagh on August 29. Similar complaints were made in July at Washington about a right of search exercised by the British ship *Huron* near Malden. Lord Castlereagh immediately issued orders to discourage such proceedings. Mr. Bagot also communicated with the governor of Canada and others, and the provocations ended.

Nearly three months later, under date of November 4, 1816, Mr. Bagot sent to Mr. Monroe a list of the British naval forces on the Lakes. He also wrote that the proposals made on August 2 had been submitted to Lord Castlereagh, and that all increase of the aforesaid naval force on the Lakes had been suspended until the decision of his Majesty's Government should be known. The following was the list submitted:[14]

Statement of his Majesty's naval force on the Lakes of Canada, September 1, 1816.

[14] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 208.

On Lake Ontario.

St. Lawrence, can carry 110 guns, laid up in ordinary.
Psyche, can carry 50 guns, laid up in ordinary.
Princess Charlotte, can carry 40 guns, laid up in ordinary.
Niagara, can carry 20 guns, condemned as unfit for service.
Charwell, can carry 14 guns, hauled up in the mud; condemned likewise.
Prince Regent, can carry 60 guns, in commission, but unequipped, being merely used as a barrack or receiving ship, and the commander-in-chief's head-quarters.
Montreal, in commission, carrying 6 guns; used merely as a transport for the service of His Majesty.
Star, carrying 4 guns; used for current duties only, and unfit for actual service.
Nelley, schooner, carrying no guns; attached for the most part to the surveyors, and conveying His Majesty's servants from port to port. There are, besides the above, some row-boats, capable of carrying long guns; two 74 gun ships on the stocks, and one transport of 400 tons, used for conveying His Majesty's stores from port to port.

On Lake Erie.

Tecumseh and *Newark*, carrying 4 guns each; and *Huron* and *Sauk*, which can carry 1 gun each. These vessels are used principally to convey His Majesty's servants and stores from port to port.

On Lake Huron.

The *Confiance* and *Surprise*, schooners, which may carry 1 gun each, and are used for purposes of transport only.

On Lake Champlain.

12 gunboats; 10 of which are laid up in ordinary, and the other 2 (one of which mounts 4 guns, and the other 3 guns) used as guard-boats. Besides the above there are some small row-boats, which are laid up as unfit for service. Keel, stem, and stern-post of a frigate laid down at the Isle aux Noix.

(Signed) J. Baumgardt.
Capt. of His Majesty's ship, Prince Regent, and senior officer.

Secretary Monroe furnished Mr. Bagot November 7, 1816, with a similar statement of the American naval forces:[15]

On Lake Ontario.

Brig *Jones* (18 guns). Retained for occasional service. Schooner, *Lady of the Lake* (1 gun). Employed in aid of the revenue laws.
Ship *New Orleans* (74 guns). On the stocks, building suspended.
Ship *Chippewa* (74 guns). On the stocks, building suspended.
Ships, *Superior* (44 guns), *Mohawk* (32 guns), *General Pike* (24 guns), *Madison* (18 guns); and the brigs *Jefferson* (18 guns), *Sylph* (16 guns), and *Oneida* (18 guns). Dismantled.
Schooner *Raven*. Receiving vessel.
15 barges (each 1 gun). Laid up for preservation.

[15] Quoted by Callahan from "America," Vol. 142, Public Records Office.

On Lake Erie.

Schooners *Porcupine* and *Ghent* (each 1 gun). Employed in transporting stores.
Ship *Detroit* (18 guns), and brigs *Lawrence* (20 guns) and *Queen Charlotte* (14 guns). Sunk at Erie.
Brig *Niagara* (18 guns). Dismantled at Erie.

On Lake Champlain.

Ships *Confiance* (32 guns) and *Saratoga* (22 guns); brigs *Eagle* (12 guns) and *Sinnet* (16 guns); the schooner *Ticonderoga* (14 guns); and 6 galleys (each 1 gun). All laid up at Whitehall.

To this list of the naval forces of the United States Secretary Monroe added the announcement that "orders will be immediately given by this Government to prevent any augmentation of it beyond the limit of the British naval force on those waters."

The next day, November 8, Mr. Monroe notified Mr. Bagot that such orders had been issued. On the same day Mr. Bagot wrote to say that the American list made no return of any force upon the upper Lakes. He inquired whether the force upon those Lakes was included in the list of force on Lake Erie. Mr. Monroe promptly replied in the affirmative.

Not until April 28, 1817, when Mr. Monroe had become President and his secretary of state was Richard Rush did the official answer to Mr. Monroe's project of August 2, 1816, come from England. No changes in the terms were proposed and the interval of notice of annulment was fixed at six months. Mr. Bagot further informed the secretary that orders to British officers on the Lakes to abide by this Agreement had already been issued. The next day, Mr. Rush acknowledged Mr. Bagot's note, formally accepted the Agreement, and promised that the necessary orders to American officers would be issued at once.

Mr. Rush, the next day, sent a copy of the Agreement to the secretary of the navy, B. W. Crowninshield, and asked that the necessary orders be given, "in conformity with the President's desire." May 2, Secretary Crowninshield sent the terms of the Agreement to the American officers in command on the Lakes, with orders concerning the boat to be kept in commission on each Lake, and warning against any kind of interference with the proper duties of the corresponding British force.

Capt. D. S. Dexter at Erie, Penn., was told that the schooners *Porcupine*, armed with an 18-pounder, and *Ghent*, with a 12- or 18-pounder, would be retained for occasional service upon the upper

Lakes. On Lake Ontario, Capt. M. T. Woolsey at Sackett's Harbor, N.Y., was to keep the schooner *Lady of the Lake*, with one 18-pounder; and Capt. J. T. Leonard at Whitehall, N.Y., was to have on Lake Champlain the galley *Allen*, with one 12- or 18-pounder.

No official proclamation of this Agreement was made in 1817, other than the summary of it contained in President Monroe's first message to the 15th Congress, December 2, 1817. In that message this Agreement held the place of honor, being the first thing referred to. Mr. Bagot, the British minister, who had been here long enough to appreciate the danger of Congressional disagreement or interference with the diplomatic policies of an Administration, met John Quincy Adams, already in the office of secretary of state, on January 14, 1818, and took occasion to ask whether it was the intention of the President to acquaint Congress with the correspondence of the previous year concerning the arrangement about armaments on the Lakes. He told Mr. Adams that that Agreement "was a sort of treaty." Mr. Adams reported the conversation to President Monroe, who did not think it necessary to communicate those letters to Congress.[16]

Later he thought better of the suggestion, and under date of April 6, 1818, sent all the correspondence to the Senate with the following message:

To the Senate of the United States:

An Arrangement having been made and concluded between this Government and that of Great Britain, with respect to the naval armament of the two Governments, respectively, on the Lakes, I lay before the Senate a copy of the correspondence upon that subject, including the stipulations mutually agreed upon by the two parties.

I submit it to the consideration of the Senate whether this is such an arrangement as the Executive is competent to enter into by the powers vested in it by the Constitution, or is such a one as requires the advice and consent of the Senate, and, in the latter case, for this advice and consent, should it be approved.

(Signed) JAMES MONROE.

The Senate approved with no dissenting vote, April 16. The President then made formal proclamation of the original Agreement in these terms:

[16] Adams: *Memoirs*, IV, 41, 42.

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, an arrangement was entered into at the city of Washington in the month of April, in the year of our Lord, 1817, between Richard Rush, esquire, at that time acting as Secretary for the Department of State of the United States, for and in behalf of the government of the United States, and the Right Honorable Charles Bagot, His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, for and in behalf of His Britannic Majesty, which arrangement is in the words following, to wit:

"The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is,—

"On Lake Ontario to one vessel, not exceeding to 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-lb. cannon;

"On the Upper Lakes to 2 vessels, not exceeding like burden, each armed with like force;

"On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel, not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force;

"All other armed vessels on those lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed.

"If either party should be hereafter desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice.

"The naval force so to be limited shall be restricted to such service as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party."

And whereas the Senate of the United States have approved of the said arrangement, and recommended that it should be carried into effect, the same having also received the sanction of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Britannic Majesty,

Now, therefore, I, James Monroe, President of the United States, do, by this my proclamation, make known and declare that the arrangement aforesaid, and every stipulation thereof, has been duly entered into, concluded and confirmed, and is of full force and effect.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, this 28th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1818, and of the independence of the United States the forty-second.

JAMES MONROE.[17]

By the President:

John Quincy Adams, *Secretary of State.*

[17] Malloy: *Treaties and Conventions.* I, 630.

The mad desire to set up barriers between the United States and Canada for the defense of the latter led the English cabinet to suppose that a wilderness might be created for that purpose between Lake Champlain and Montreal. Lord Bathurst sent out from the colonial office in London, July 1, 1816, to the new governor of Canada, Sir John Sherbrooke, a letter instructing him to abstain from issuing any more grants of land in the districts along that frontier, and, if possible, to induce those who already had grants there "to accept uncleared lands in other districts more distant from the frontier of the United States. . . . It is also very desirable that you should, as far as lies in your power, prevent the extension of roads in the direction of those particular districts . . . ; and if any means should present themselves of letting those which have been already made fall into decay, you will best comply with the views of His Majesty's Government, and materially contribute to the future security of the Province by their adoption."

What an illustration of the fatuity of colonial government by a few ill-informed politicians three thousand miles away! With the map before them, they proposed to decree that a twenty-mile strip of wilderness should be maintained against the northern boundaries of Vermont and New York, *as a protection to Canadians*. Five years later, 1821, the Earl of Dalhousie [18] reported to Lord Bathurst that the strip in question contained a considerable and increasing population, who were offering protection to all criminals escaping from either Canada or the United States, and that American lumbermen were settling where they pleased and taking what they pleased. He therefore requested authority to grant again those fertile lands to loyal subjects for immediate settlement.[19]

Up to 1846–47 the Mississippi River remained the principal thoroughfare of western trade, but after that time the Lakes became the main avenue. The change began in the decade 1836–1846. The event which first drew general attention to the increased importance of the lake route was the disturbance on our frontiers there in connection with the Canadian rebellion, which broke out in 1837.

The counties in our States adjoining the Lakes contained many sympathizers with the insurgents. Secret societies of such sympathizers, called "Hunter" lodges, were founded in Vermont in May, 1838, and a Grand Lodge, assembled at Cleveland, December 16–22,

[18] George Ramsay, ninth Earl of Dalhousie (1770–1838), governor-in-chief of Canada and the maritime provinces from 1819 to 1828.

[19] Cf. the letters in Kingsford's *History of Canada*, IX, pp. 40–42 and notes.

proposed to establish a republican government in Upper Canada, and with it a republican bank to issue paper money. There was much incendiary talk in the local newspapers throughout the region of the Lakes. Buffalo was a chief center of sentiment in favor of the insurgents, and William Lyon Mackenzie,[20] the leader of the rebels, was the chief figure in a public demonstration there, December 10, 1837.

A number of Americans joined the insurgents, who in January, 1838, formed a camp on Navy Island on the Canadian side of the Niagara River above the falls. Mackenzie issued proclamations from this island as his seat of government for Upper Canada and the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head (1835–1838), called for troops.

Mackenzie secured supplies from the United States and chartered an American-owned steamer, the *Caroline*, to bring such supplies from Schlosser, across the Niagara River. December 29, 1837, a Canadian force came in boats to Schlosser, captured the *Caroline*, took her into midstream, set her on fire, and sank her. During the mêlée an American citizen, Amos Durfee, was killed. A flame of excitement swept along the frontier and from Buffalo to Detroit the activity of the friends of the insurgents increased. Their leaders collected supplies and some boats, and issued proclamations. On both sides of the boundary alarming and extravagant stories were repeated and believed. The United States military officers along the Lakes acted promptly and properly. General Scott came to assume command and Buffalo became a military post. The insurgents and their friends were prevented from chartering steamers, and from any further organization on the American side.

[20] Cf. Kingsford: *History of Canada*, IX, 343–533; X, 456, 457. William Lyon Mackenzie (1795–1861), born at Dundee in Scotland, emigrated to Canada in 1820. In May, 1824, he started at Toronto a paper called *The Colonial Advocate*, to plead for popular government in Canada. His printing office was destroyed by a Tory mob June 8, 1826, and Mackenzie obtained £625 damages.

Elected to the Assembly of Upper Canada in 1826, he was expelled in 1830 for describing the ministers as "sycophants fit only to register the decrees of arbitrary power." Twice re-elected and twice re-expelled he was finally excluded by the arbitrary disfranchisement of the county (York) which returned him. By 1834 he was recognized as the popular leader in Upper Canada, was elected Mayor of Toronto, and re-entered the Assembly.

Defeated at the election of 1836 by the strenuous efforts of the government, Mackenzie determined, in connection with the disaffected Frenchmen of Quebec led by Nelson and Papineau, to resort to armed resistance. The plan was to establish democratic control of the provincial governments, including an elected instead of appointed Council, or Upper House. Mackenzie proclaimed a provisional government, November 25, 1837, and unfurled a flag with two stars, representing the two provinces, Ontario and Quebec. His army of 800 men was defeated at Montgomery's Tavern on December 7, and Mackenzie then established himself on Navy Island in the Niagara River. In 1839 he was arrested and imprisoned by the United States government for breaking the neutrality laws. He remained in the United States until 1849, when the proclamation of amnesty enabled him to return to Canada, where he re-entered the Assembly, 1850–1858. His last days were marred by poverty. Lindsey: *Life of W. L. Mackenzie.*

But the British Government showed no disposition to heed the firm, though friendly, demands from Washington that reparation must be made for the destruction of the *Caroline* and the death of Durfee. Lieutenant-Governor Head believed that filibustering expeditions were coming toward Canada from all parts of the American border, that the project of Texas was to be duplicated (which was indeed the hope of his insurgent subjects), and that Canada must increase its defenses at once. During the spring and summer of 1838 several steamers were hired by the British authorities and equipped with troops and munitions of war to cruise on Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and in the St. Lawrence River, in order to prevent invasion and to overawe the Canadian insurgents. On our side President Van Buren authorized the hiring or otherwise procuring of a steamer for Lake Erie, and another for Ontario, "to be so manned and equipped as not to interfere with existing treaties." [21]

November 11, 1838, a steamer left Oswego, New York, with many filibuster passengers aboard, bound for Ogdensburg, and towing two schooners intended for the use of the Canadian insurgents. Colonel Worth of the United States army promptly followed in another steamboat and seized all three boats. Some of the passengers who reached Canada were speedily captured by the Canadian forces. In December armed men from Detroit set fire to a steamer at Windsor, on the Canadian side. Both of these outbreaks were the work of the "Hunter" lodges. Several of the raiders were captured and executed by the Canadians. Mr. Fox,[22] the British minister at Washington, notified our secretary of state, Mr. Forsyth, November 25, 1838, that a temporary increase of naval force upon the boundary Lakes and rivers above what was permitted by the Agreement of 1817, was necessary in order to guard against unlawful and piratical acts of hostility. He assured the secretary that this armament would be discontinued as soon as possible after the sources of danger were removed.

Our Government made no objection, and Congress authorized the President, March 3, 1839, to provide such force and armament on our northern Lakes and rivers as he should deem necessary to protect the United States from invasion from that quarter.[23] This

[21] Callahan, p. 98—quoting from records of House Committee on Naval Affairs.

[22] Henry Stephen Fox (1791–1846), British minister at Washington, from 1835 to 1843. The successful completion of the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1841 was largely due to the tact and knowledge of Mr. Fox. Concerning the two "Hunter" raids, cf. Kingsford: *History of Canada*, X, 493–500. The Fox-Forsyth and Fox-Webster correspondence is in H. R. Doc. No. 471, 56th Cong. 1st Session, pp. 19, 20, 23, 34, 40.

[23] Cong. Globe, March 1, 1839, Appendix, p. 282.

act was passed on the day after news came of a clash on the disputed frontier between Maine and New Brunswick which had resulted in bloodshed.

The increase in the British armaments on the Lakes and along the frontier, and its continuance during the years 1839–40, was a cause of apprehension on this side of the border. It caused also many extravagant rumors concerning the nature, extent and ultimate purpose of the British armaments.

March 9, 1840, the House of Representatives asked the President whether Great Britain had expressed a wish to annul the Agreement of 1817, and, if not, whether that Agreement had been violated by Great Britain.[24] Alarmist congressmen during the next few weeks gave voice to their fears that Great Britain, while "amusing us with negotiations as Philip amused the Athenians, was making quiet and steady progress in preparing for offensive and defensive operations along our undefended frontier from Maine to Lake Superior."[25] It was affirmed that military works were being constructed opposite Detroit from which that city could in one hour be laid in ashes.

March 28, 1840, the President informed the House that the British Government had not manifested any wish to abrogate the Agreement of 1817. He also forwarded reports from General Scott and other officers stationed along the Lakes which showed that the temporary increase of armed vessels on the Canadian side had been insignificant. A subsequent report (June 29) showed that the strengthening of the forts and garrisons in Canada had been only such as was inevitable for the suppression of an insurrection. In the autumn of 1840, there was a recrudescence of ill-feeling and of war talk in this country, due chiefly to the prolonged dispute about the *Caroline* affair and to the arrest in New York State in November of a Canadian constable, named Alexander McLeod, who had boasted that he was the slayer of Amos Durfee.

In the United States Senate, August 3, 1841, Mr. Allen of Ohio had understood that the British had two armed steamers on Lake Erie and thought that armed steamers were necessary to watch armed steamers. On September 9 Congress agreed to appropriate $100,000 "for the construction and armament of armed steamers or other vessels on the northwestern Lakes, as the President might think most proper, and as might be permitted under the terms of the treaty with the

[24] Cong. Globe, 26th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 254, resolution offered by Mr. Crary of Michigan.
[25] Callahan, pp. 103–4, 109.

British Government."[26] Our Government at this time had only one revenue cutter on Lake Erie and was hiring the use of two steamers on Lake Ontario, the *Oneida* and the *Telegraph*. The frigate *New Orleans*, begun in 1814 at Sackett's Harbor, was now rotting there on the stocks. From that point to Mackinaw we had no fort that had been kept in repair.

Meanwhile Governor Seward of New York was much troubled by reports of renewed activities of secret associations on our side of the Lakes that were collecting arms and ammunition for a rebellion in Canada. In September, 1841, he informed Mr. Webster, secretary of state, that the British then had on Lake Erie two warships of 500 tons each, and each fit to carry a battery of 18 guns. In the same month these ships were fired upon from Navy Island by persons who had brought a cannon from the United States for that purpose. Almost simultaneously an attempt was made to blow up the Welland Canal at Allanburg, Canada. Governor Seward asked Mr. Webster to find out whether England intended to annul the Agreement of 1817 and urged the necessity of an increase in our armament so as to provide defense if not to resist aggression.

Mr. Webster and the British minister, Mr. Fox, discussed the bearings of the situation upon the Agreement during the fall and winter of 1841–2. The former observed that "the United States cannot consent to any inequality in regard to the strictness with which the convention of 1817 is to be observed." The latter declared that Canada was still threatened with invasion and that "the efforts of the United States Government, though directed in good faith to suppress those unlawful combinations, are not attended with the wished-for success." The question of continuance or annulment was referred by Mr. Fox to the cabinet at home, and assurance came in March, 1842, that the British Government intended to abide faithfully by the Agreement of 1817 as soon as it could be done with safety to Canada.[27]

During the winter of 1841–2, Secretary of the Navy Upshur authorized the construction of one steamship under the terms of the act of September 9, 1841. It was built at Pittsburg in 1842, named the *Michigan*, taken across the country in sections in 1843 and launched in Lake Erie in the summer of 1844. This ship was heavier and carried more armament than the Agreement of 1817 permitted to all

[26] 5 Stat. 458, 460; Moore: Digest, I, 693. Note the careless and inexact reference to the Agreement as a "treaty."

[27] As above, H. R. Doc. No. 471.

four of the vessels allowed, but it was no larger than either of the two British vessels already in Lake Erie. Since 1817 steam had been substituted for sail power and no steam warship could have been made effective if it were smaller than the *Michigan*.

While the *Michigan* was under construction, Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton concluded the treaty that bears their joint names and dissipated the war cloud that had gathered over the Maine boundary. McLeod was acquitted and sent home and the rumors of war and invasion died away.

In July, 1844, the British minister at Washington queried whether the size and armament of the *Michigan* did not constitute an infraction of the Agreement. The secretary of the navy gathered some unverified information about a half dozen British armed vessels said to be still on the Lakes, pointed out the change in conditions of navigation since 1817, and suggested a revision of the Agreement, but the incident had no other result than an exchange of notes. The war scare was over, despite the Democratic slogan of "Fifty-four forty or fight" in the Presidential campaign of 1844. By 1852 the British Government had ordered all its warships on the Lakes to be dismantled.

The Lakes had now become the main highway of commerce, and the reciprocity treaty of 1854 admitted the Canadians to a profitable share in that commerce. Friendly sentiment on both sides was increasing, and each government desired to maintain the Agreement of 1817. The *Michigan* and some revenue cutters were our only force upon the Lakes. There was no pretense of keeping up any of our forts. In 1856–7 the British Government inquired of George M. Dallas, the American minister in London, whether the building of six new revenue cutters for our service on the Lakes was not an infringement of the Agreement of 1817, and called attention again to the fact that the tonnage of the *Michigan* was larger than that Agreement warranted. The inquiries were renewed in 1858, and our Government had meanwhile made inquiries concerning the presence of a British fleet among the West India islands. These events were related in time to the discussions over a Central American canal and practically amounted to nothing more than a reminder that each government was "waiting watchfully."

The conditions upon the lake frontiers in 1836–1842 were repeated during the time of the Civil War, except that the boot was on the other foot. It was now Uncle Sam's turn to face a rebellion with

which many English subjects on both sides of the ocean sympathized, and to complain of organized efforts within the Canadian lines to aid the insurrection and to invade our territory.

At the outbreak of the war the British had no naval force on the Lakes. The United States had only the *Michigan* and one revenue cutter, the five other new cutters being taken to our Atlantic coast in 1861. The predominant sympathy of the Canadians was with the North rather than the South, and many British subjects were in the Federal armies.

But the Trent affair in November, 1861, and the increasing and indubitable evidence that the ruling class in England were strong partisans of the Confederacy, induced something like panic in this country concerning the defenseless state of our northern boundary and of our great lake commerce. The first steamer which was thought to mask, under British papers and flag, an intention to attack our commerce in the guise of a Confederate cruiser, went out of Lake Ontario in April, 1861. The fears were not lessened by the fact that Canada possessed canals around the Falls of Niagara and the rapids in the St. Lawrence, and could therefore bring light gunboats from the ocean to the Lakes. By 1863 the presence of a large and growing colony of Confederate refugees and adherents in Canada began to contribute a substantial basis to the suspicions and fears on our side of the border.

Feeling in the United States against England was at a white heat on account of the destruction of our commerce by ships fitted out in English ports. The air was full of stories and rumors, like those of twenty-five years before, about plots hatched in Canada to attack Buffalo, and to capture our ships on the Lakes. The Confederates were believed to have two ships of their own, equipped for war, although the Canadian government searched for such vessels and could not find them. Our Government gave notice that the reciprocity treaty with Canada would come to an end in 1866, and on June 18, 1864, the House of Representatives approved of a joint resolution calling upon the President to give to Great Britain a six months' notice of the termination of the Agreement of 1817.[28] The action of the House was based chiefly upon the assertions that our lake commerce and lake ports needed more protection, and that the Canadian canals gave England an unfair advantage over us upon

[28] The bill terminating the reciprocity treaty passed the House, December 15, 1864. For the movements to abrogate the Agreement in 1864, with the Seward-Adams-Russell correspondence, cf. H. R. Doc. No. 471, 56th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 47–52, 56–58.

the Lakes. This resolution died in the Senate. Lord Lyons, noting the progress of this resolution, wrote to Secretary Seward, August 4, 1864, that her Majesty's Government would view the abrogation of the Agreement "with great regret and no little alarm." Next day, Mr. Seward denied any intention to abrogate it. But events moved rapidly.

In September long-expected outbreaks came. Confederate refugees from Canada captured the steamer *Philo Parsons* when on its way from Detroit to Sandusky, ran up the Confederate flag and started to attack the *Michigan*, to release the Southern prisoners kept on Johnson's Island near Sandusky, and then to raid the Lakes and the lake cities. The career of the *Parsons* was quickly stopped, but immediately there followed the news that twenty-five raiders from Canada had attacked and looted the village of St. Albans, Vermont, and returned to Canada, where they were arrested by the local authorities. Secretary Seward then notified the British Government through Minister Adams that after six months the Agreement, which he describes as "the informal arrangement," would be terminated, and that the United States would then make such additions to its naval armament upon the Lakes as might seem necessary. This notice was delivered to Earl Russell on November 23, 1864, so that the date thus fixed for the end of the Agreement was May 23, 1865. Earl Russell, in reply, hoped that after the restoration of peace the Agreement would be renewed.

In Detroit, on a Sunday at the end of October, 1864, bells rang an alarm, and congregations were dismissed in order to repel the attack of an armed band from Toronto, which never arrived. Moreover it was reported that there was a conspiracy in Canada to set fire to all the chief cities in the North on the approaching election day. Two generals, Butler and Hawley, and seven thousand men were on lake steamers on election day in order to intercept raids, but there were none. Under stress of these excitements Congress met in December, 1864. Secretary Welles asked for two or three additional vessels upon the Lakes. The Department of State established a requirement that all travelers from Canada into the United States except *bona fide* immigrants must show passports obtained from United States consuls. Senator Sumner introduced a resolution calling for information about the Agreement of 1817, and characterized it as an "anomalous, abnormal, . . . small-type arrangement," which could be easily abrogated. In February, 1865,[29] both houses of Congress

[29] A joint resolution, approved February 9.

voted to ratify the notice previously given by the Department of State that the Agreement would be set aside.

Meanwhile the Canadian people had voted down in 1861 the recommendation of a military commission that a large militia organization should be maintained. A civilian commission, headed by Sir John A. Macdonald, conferred with the British Government in 1865 concerning the defense of Canada, and rendered in July a report which became one of the foundations of the modern Canadian Dominion. One of the most pregnant paragraphs of this report follows, embodying its principle, Not a penny for soldiers and armaments, but generous support of transcontinental railways and other internal improvements:

"While fully recognizing the necessity of—and while prepared to provide for—such a system of defense as would restore confidence in our future at home and abroad, the best ultimate defense for British America is to be found in the increase of her population as rapidly as possible and the husbanding of our resources to that end; and without claiming it as a right, we venture to suggest that by enabling us to throw open the Northwest Territory to free settlement, and by aiding us in enlarging our canals and prosecuting internal productive works, and by promoting an extensive plan of emigration from Europe into the unsettled portions of our domain, permanent security will be more quickly and economically achieved than by any other means."[30]

In the United States the alarm over the Confederates in Canada died away as rapidly as it had arisen. While the British cabinet was saying by the mouth of Lord Palmerston (February 11, 1865) that our measures for defense were all justifiable,[31] Sherman's march was proving that the Confederacy was near collapse. On March 8, Secretary Seward announced that Canadian passports would no longer be required, and withdrew the notice of abrogation of the Agreement of 1817, saying, "we are quite willing that the convention should remain practically in force." A formal exchange of notes during the summer and fall of 1865 verified the renewal of the Agreement,[32] and apparently determined that it does not include revenue cutters.[33]

After the death of the Confederacy in 1865, the war clouds shifted again on the Lakes from the Canadian to the American frontiers.

[30] Cf. Christopher West: *The Defense of Canada in the Light of Canadian History.* London and Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1914. The documents are to be found in *Parliamentary Papers* 1865, 3434 and 3535, Vol. XXXVII, 429–36 and 437–40.

[31] Hansard: *Parl. Debates*, Vol. CLXXVII, 149, 150.

[32] H. R. Doc. No. 471, pp. 60–62.

[33] Mr. Seward advised the secretary of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase, May 7, 1864, that he would not admit that the Agreement of 1817 was intended to restrict the armament or tonnage of vessels designed exclusively for the revenue service. Cf. Moore: Digest, I, 696.

Across the ocean a faction of violence developed in the Irish home-rule party, and the Fenian organization on both sides of the Atlantic hoped that the dispute between England and the United States over the depredations of the *Alabama* and other cruisers would involve the two countries in war. The Fenian leaders in this country were reckless enough to declare war on their own account. In June, 1866, about two hundred of them invaded the province of Ontario from a point near Buffalo, and killed some Canadians before they were overwhelmed. The United States Government sent the *Michigan* and a revenue cutter, and General Berry with thirteen companies of soldiers to patrol the threatened waters and boundaries, and the Canadian government chartered a fleet of steamers, and received some aid also from the British fleet at Montreal. No more overt acts were committed until the spring of 1870, when, in May, five hundred Fenians tried to invade Canada from Vermont. This attempt and several others made during the next year were frustrated by Canadian troops, and the Treaty of Washington in 1871 and the Geneva arbitration, which followed, effectively laid the Fenian ghost. Since then there have been no serious controversies along the lake boundaries other than those due to the transgressions of fishermen and to the follies of a war of tariffs,[34] or canal tolls. For such reasons the official relations between Canada and the United States have at times assumed a slightly controversial hue, but despite these differences the industrial and social ties between the two peoples have been constantly multiplied and strengthened, and there has been among them no serious demand for a renewal of armaments on the Lakes. In 1878 and again in 1892 the attention of Congress was called to the dilapidated condition of the *Michigan*, but no new lake vessel was provided by us.

The Agreement of 1817 survived this long succession of public controversies, and then surmounted a final danger arising from the ambitions of business. In 1890 the United States Government was receiving bids for the construction of a practice ship for the use of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The lowest bid was presented by F. W. Wheeler and Company of West Bay City, Michigan, but it could not be considered. The Agreement binds both parties not to build any vessel of war upon the Lakes except as specified for lake service. The result was that our lake shipbuilding interests

[34] The policy of protection triumphed in Canada in 1878, when Canada was forced to abandon all hope of securing a renewal of reciprocity with us, or any agreement for freedom of trade.

organized a demand for the abrogation of the Agreement, and this request came before the Senate, April 8, 1892, in the form of a petition presented by Senator McMillan of Michigan. The Deep Waterways Association and the Lake Carriers Association promoted an agitation of the subject. The question was raised whether the Agreement of 1817 could be in force since the action of Congress in ratifying the notice of abrogation, February 9, 1865. Secretary of State John W. Foster decided that the Agreement was still in force, but called it obsolete, and asserted that it ought to be modified to suit modern conditions. In the ensuing discussions the prevalent opinion was adverse to abrogating or changing the Agreement, and by December, 1892, the agitation seemed to be ended. It was revived in all its original acrimony in October, 1895, when Secretary of the Navy Hilary A. Herbert in President Cleveland's cabinet refused to give to the Detroit Dry Dock Company, the lowest bidder, the contract to build two twin-screw gunboats. In November the mayor and city council of Detroit circularized other municipalities around the Lakes inviting them to join in a movement against the restrictions which the Agreement of 1817 imposed on shipbuilders in the lake regions.

"If a navy is to be maintained at all," wrote the Detroit mayor, "there is as good reason for maintaining a fleet upon the Great Lakes as upon the eastern coast of the United States, and far greater reason, in view of the relative importance of the commercial vessel interest, than to maintain it on the Chinese or Japanese coast."[35]

President Cleveland approved of the action of Secretary Herbert in terms that seemed to indicate his opinion that modern conditions might justify the annulment of the Agreement "in the manner provided in the contract."

A month later, December, 1895, President Cleveland's administration stepped to the edge of war with England over the Venezuela boundary. For a few days there was alarm and consternation in both nations, and the Canadian government began to look up lake vessels that could be converted into cruisers. Speedily it became evident that the English cabinet intended to leave to the United States the right to interpret the Monroe Doctrine and its corollaries, and forthwith the talk of defenses and invasions disappeared, let us hope forever.

Surely hostilities in 1895 would have been far more imminent if

[35] Callahan, p. 186.

the Great Lakes had held powerful British and American war fleets patrolling the waters and watching each other suspiciously, and if there had been garrisoned forts along the shores and along the continental boundary as well, reproducing the conditions so unhappily familiar in Europe.

The Agreement was challenged again in 1898 (April 16) not through any revival of war scares, but because Secretary of the Navy John D. Long raised again the question about construction in lake shipyards.

This inquiry was referred, with many others, to a Joint High Anglo-American Commission, which met in the summer and fall of 1898. Our commissioners were instructed to propose a revision of the Agreement of 1817, so that war vessels might be constructed on the Lakes provided that they were not retained there after construction, and secondly so that it might be permissible to keep training ships in service on the Lakes. The Commission finally adjourned after a fruitless debate over reciprocity, fisheries and the Alaskan boundary. The Agreement was not considered at all, and the proposal for its revision has not been renewed.

The whole history of international relations upon the Lakes, as here recited, shows clearly the overwhelming power of a peaceful purpose. The Agreement of 1817 was a revulsion from opposing plans of aggression and enmity. Our statesmen, not only the effervescent Clay, but even the pacific Jefferson, had dreamed of overrunning and annexing Canada. Our friends the enemy, on the other hand, had hoped to shut the United States forever away from the control at least of the upper Lakes. But the indwelling Spirit of Grace made even the wrath of man to praise Him. Out of the frictions at Ghent and the natural enmities that followed the war along the border, there came forth, instead of the customary competition in armaments and the display of all the pomp and circumstance of war, the marvelously wise determination to have virtually no armaments at all, and lo! it was done. The two nations, almost without their knowledge, at first by executive order only, were committed to a unique experiment in international relations, viz.: that neighbor nations should do what neighbor citizens had learned to do some centuries earlier, stop fortifying their houses against each other and stop carrying weapons for use in a common highway. All honor to Monroe and Adams and Castlereagh, who first among statesmen at least partially committed two great and discordant nations to the doctrine, "In time of Peace prepare to make Peace permanent"!

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DREADNOUGHTS AND DIVIDENDS

EXPOSURE OF THE ARMAMENTS RING

BY

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THE WORLD'S ANNUAL ARMAMENT BILL IN TIME OF PEACE

From "The Drain of Armaments."

Country	Fiscal Year	Expended for Army	Expended for Navy	Total Military Charge
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE				
Austria-Hungary	1913	[1] $115,381,000	$15,176,000	$130,557,000
Belgium	1912	13,119,000		13,119,000
[2] Bulgaria	1912	7,817,000		7,817,000
Denmark	1912–13	5,337,000	3,013,000	8,350,000
France	1912	[1] 177,656,000	81,693,000	259,349,000
Germany	1912–13	201,003,000	111,964,000	312,967,000
Great Britain	1911–12	134,850,000	216,194,000	351,044,000
[2] Greece	1912	4,155,000	1,699,000	5,854,000
Italy	1912–13	[1] 83,284,000	41,859,000	125,143,000
Netherlands	1913	13,412,000	8,092,000	21,504,000
Norway	1911–12	4,063,000	1,539,000	5,602,000
Portugal	1910–11	9,279,000	4,317,000	13,596,000
Rumania	1912–13	14,365,000		14,365,000
Russia	1912	289,911,000	81,960,000	371,871,000
[2] Servia	1912	5,699,000		5,699,000
Spain	1912	[1] 36,353,000	13,546,000	49,899,000
Sweden	1913	14,884,000	7,032,000	21,916,000
Switzerland	1912	8,516,000		8,516,000
Turkey	1912–13	39,374,000	5,614,000	44,988,000
Total (Great Britain and the Continent)		$1,178,458,000	$593,698,000	$1,772,156,000
UNITED STATES	1911–12	[3] $107,787,000	$136,390,000	$244,177,000
JAPAN	1912–13	47,066,000	46,510,000	93,576,000
BRITISH INDIA	1911–12	101,409,000		101,409,000
MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	1912	$12,232,000	$11,856,000	$24,088,000
Brazil	1912	25,425,000	14,969,000	40,394,000
Chile	1912	12,164,000	11,416,000	23,580,000
Colombia	1913	Army and Navy not differentiated		2,661,000
Ecuador	1910			2,031,000
Mexico	1912–13			10,790,000
Peru	1911			2,425,000
Uruguay	1910–11			4,946,000
Venezuela	1912–13			1,834,000
Total (Mexico and South America)				$112,749,000
WORLD TOTAL				$2,324,067,000

[1] Including Austrian Landwehr and Hungarian Honved (Honved–1912), French Gendarmes, Italian Carabinieri, Spanish Guarda Civil and Carabineros.

[2] These expenditures are the normal peace expenditures only. The cost of the Balkan War was met by special appropriations.

[3] This excludes civil expenditures charged to War Department ($43,262,000). United States Treasurer's statement shows a total of $151,049,000.

ARMAMENTS ARE DESIGNED FOR FIGHTING, AND SOONER OR LATER FIND EMPLOYMENT.

PEACE UNDER ARMS IS ONLY AN EXTENDED ARMISTICE.

DREADNOUGHTS AND DIVIDENDS

On March 17, 1914, the Naval Estimates for 1914–1915 were introduced by the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Winston Churchill). The estimates totaled £51,550,000, of which £15,282,950 were estimated as expenditure on new construction. On March 18, Mr. Philip Snowden in the House of Commons discussed this excessive expenditure in the following speech:

The First Lord of the Admiralty, as a Member of a Liberal Government, has presented to the House of Commons Navy Estimates asking for a vote of more than £51,000,000. I cannot enter into the feelings and the views of Radical Members who sit on this side, but I cannot imagine that they listened with any great measure of satisfaction to the speech of the First Lord yesterday, in spite of those distinguishing qualities which have been described as lucidity and rhetoric. If they have any regard for the future of the party with which they are associated, I think they must regard with a considerable amount of dismay these Naval Estimates piling up by millions year by year, and perhaps at times they may be inclined to put to themselves the question whether the acquisition by the Liberal Party of the First Lord of the Admiralty has been a valuable asset to that party. My view is that the First Lord of the Admiralty in the position which he occupies at present is a danger to the safety of the country and a menace to the peace of the world. I said that I do not intend to deal with his speech in any very great detail, but there are one or two outstanding features in that speech to which I do want to make some reference. The First Lord of the Admiralty said that in the programme of ship construction which he has now submitted to the House he was adhering to the standard laid down two years ago. I doubt if there be in this House any two Members who would give the same interpretation of the standard to which our naval policy is supposed to conform at the present time.

The First Lord in his speech yesterday gave us not one standard, but a large number of standards. It is quite true that in 1912 he departed from what had hitherto been regarded as the standard—

namely, the two-Power standard—and he substituted for it a standard which he described as sixteen to ten against the next strongest naval Power. No sooner had he laid down that standard than he began to break it. At the time he laid that down nothing had been said about the intention of Canada to build three ships. No sooner had the First Lord announced that standard to the House than he appears to have gone round the Empire, touting to the Dependencies and the Colonies to build ships and to present them to the Imperial Navy. We had the offer of Canada to add three ships, and there was no declaration from the First Lord in connection with those ships that they were to be taken into account in calculating the standard of sixteen to ten. Then when the Canadian offer was withdrawn, he made that an excuse for departing from the standard which a few months before he had laid down. With the 1912 revision of the German Navy Law of 1907, the First Lord has adopted a new programme of two to one for additional German ships. That gives us this result, that in 1917 Germany would have fourteen, and Great Britain twenty-five. As a matter of fact there is set up a new and a higher standard. On the sixteen to ten standard our figure would be not twenty-five but just under twenty-three, and taking that figure of twenty-three we are building two ships in excess of the sixteen to ten standard.

There was no reason at all, in my opinion, upon those figures to build a fifth ship last year, and if the programme of this year is reduced from four to two we shall still be within the sixteen to ten standard. I do not want to go into the point, which other Members are better qualified than I am to raise, as to our superiority in ships and equipment below the "Dreadnought" class, but it is not only there we have superiority over the next strongest European Power, but also in the character and capacity of our "Dreadnoughts." Therefore, taking all those facts into consideration, I submit that the declaration set out in the challenge that the First Lord has departed from the standard that he laid down two years ago is completely substantiated. But yesterday we had, as I have said, a new policy and a new standard put before us. The Canadian ships, and ships which may be provided by other Colonies, are not to be counted in calculating the sixteen to ten standard. If there was one feature of the speech of the First Lord yesterday which I think was more regrettable than another, it was the provocative and patronizing tone in which he referred to Canada, and, in a lesser

degree, to other Colonies. The First Lord of the Admiralty has visions of Imperial responsibilities, and of an Imperial Navy to meet them. He looks forward to a time when every Colony will have a naval base and dockyards for the building and equipment of vessels of the Imperial Fleet. In his vision the First Lord of the Admiralty sees a British "Dreadnought" on every wave of the four oceans, and aeroplanes are as thick as the locusts were in Egypt. That, in all seriousness, is the policy submitted to this House yesterday. In addition to that, we are to have an enormous increase in the Mediterranean Squadron. Why should this be necessary? What is the menace in the Mediterranean? Against whom are we to increase our squadron there? It will be said, of course, against Italy, against Austria, against a combination of the two. We have an understanding with France. Is that to be of no advantage to us? I take it, from the speech of the noble Lord [Lord C. Beresford] this afternoon, that our alliance with France involves that we should do all the paying and bear all the sacrifice, while they should reap all the advantage. [An hon. Member: "No."] Yes. What did the noble Lord say? He referred to the condition of our Regular Army, and to the shortage of numbers in the Territorial Force. What was to be the price that we, according to the noble Lord, were to pay for this understanding with France? That we were to send an Expeditionary Force to the Continent to the assistance of France, if it were necessary. I do not think I misrepresented the noble Lord. After the statement of the First Lord yesterday, there was no need for the noble Lord to put the question whether we are going to hand over to France the whole of our responsibilities in the Mediterranean, as the First Lord told us that the number of "Dreadnoughts" is to be considerably increased, in addition to there being a very large increase in ships of other classes. Therefore, this is the point of the noble Lord. I think it is a great assumption, certainly one that would not be endorsed by Members of the party with which I am associated, nor, I think I may say, by a large number of Members on this side of the House, that we are under any obligation to send an Expeditionary Force to the assistance of France in any circumstances. If that be part of the understanding with France, I think the conditions of the understanding will need to be revised. Now we are to have this Imperial Fleet, and we are to have a very large addition to the Mediterranean Fleet—an addition, mark you, the end of which no man can see. If we are to put all these vessels on the blue waters of the Mediterranean, how

will Italy and Austria regard that action? We know that the result will be an increase in their shipbuilding, and, according to the statement of policy made by the First Lord yesterday, a further increase in our strength in the Mediterranean. Where is the process going to stop? An increase in our Fleet in the North Sea, an Imperial Fleet, a Mediterranean Fleet. If the House of Commons is going to endorse this policy, it is not a £51,000,000 Navy Budget that they will be discussing in half a dozen years, but a £100,000,000 Budget.

It is the theory of the House of Commons, in regard to naval matters, that we do not vote continuous programmes: we vote the money only for the yearly programme. But the First Lord of the Admiralty, in his speech yesterday, assumed over and over again that the House of Commons was committed to a policy which was going to run for a considerable number of years. We protest altogether against that. I warn Members of the House who disapprove of this new policy that in supporting this Vote they are, according to the First Lord of the Admiralty, endorsing the extensive departure that he foreshadowed yesterday. I submit that it is folly in the present circumstances of naval architecture, shall I say, or equipment, to build as we are doing. In my support in this connection I may quote the First Lord himself. Only last week, in answer to a question, he stated that in the last few years ships which had cost £26,000,000 had been scrapped. The authority I wish to quote is the statement of the First Lord himself two years ago:

> It is wrong and wasteful to build a single ship for the Navy which is not wanted. Nearly three years of her brief life have been lived before she is born. Before she is even launched the vessels which are capable of destroying her have been projected. It is an ill service to the Navy to build a single ship before its time.

The First Lord yesterday appeared to give some support to an opinion which, I believe, is rapidly gaining ground in naval circles, that the era of the "Dreadnought" is coming to an end, and that the development of submarines is likely to revolutionize the methods of naval warfare. In one of the weekly reviews a week or two ago there appeared a remarkable article upon this point, from which I would like to read two or three sentences. The apparently very well-informed writer said:

> I believe it to be the accepted doctrine in the best informed naval circles that as things are at present no battleship dare venture into waters in which submarines are known to be lurking. What does this mean? That in future battleships can only come into action in mid-ocean, in the center of the Atlantic or in the Southern seas—that in the next naval war the narrow seas around the British Isles, the

Baltic, and the Mediterranean can be literally closed to battleships. Nor will the broad oceans be exempted from the closure for long. The new British submarines will be all but ocean-going ships. Their radius of action is 1,000 miles. They will have a surface speed of nearly twenty-two knots, and about sixteen submerged. They will carry a large armament of torpedoes and two quick-firing guns. Against these craft a battleship is absolutely defenseless unless she is lying at anchor with torpedo nets out. And at the present moment no one can see how she is to be defended.

I submit that, in view of the not only possible, but probable, development, it is, to use the words of the First Lord, madness and folly to go on incurring this expenditure which in a year or two may be absolutely useless. I now turn to the financial side of the question.

In speaking upon this matter I shall probably be entitled to receive a considerable amount of sympathy from Radicals on these benches, because if there was one thing more than another on which this Government was returned to power in 1906, it was on a pledge of peace and retrenchment. When, in the later days of the previous Parliament, the present First Lord of the Admiralty was admirably combining in himself the two rôles of Tory Member for Oldham and Radical candidate for Manchester, his speeches were confined almost exclusively to attacks on the Tory Government for its gross extravagance, and on every election platform the right hon. gentleman was holding aloft the grand old Liberal flag of peace and retrenchment, especially retrenchment. He is now a Member of a Government which in nine years has increased the naval expenditure of the country by about £20,000,000.

The first year for which the present Government were responsible for the Estimates—1906–07—the naval expenditure stood at, roughly, £31,000,000. The House is now asked to vote £51,000,000. I want to put this question to Radical Members. If the statement had been made ten years ago that nine years of Liberal Government would add £20,000,000 to naval expenditure, is there a Radical Member or a Radical in the country who would not have said that the man who made such a statement was mad? I can well remember the time when a Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer resigned office rather than be responsible for providing £13,000,000 per year for naval expenditure. We now have the son of that Tory Minister, practically without apologizing to the House—nay, glorying in the magnitude of the Estimates—proposing, in the name of a Liberal Government, an expenditure of more than £51,000,000. During ten years of office Tory recklessness only raised the naval expenditure by £14,000,000. I do not know what they might do if the turn of the

tide should bring them to power once more, but judging from the speech of the hon. Member for Fareham yesterday and the speech of the noble Lord and gallant Admiral this afternoon, it would not be a Budget of £50,000,000 or £70,000,000, but one of £100,000,000 or more. I wish when responsible Members opposite speak on this question they would be a little more definite. For instance, I wish they would tell us what size of fleet in the North Sea would satisfy them. I wish they would say what size of fleet in the Mediterranean would enable them to sleep comfortably at night. I wish they would tell us what size of fleet they think necessary adequately to protect our great Imperial obligations. They leave us in the dark in these matters, and we can only conjecture. My conjecture is that in that day when the hon. Member for Fareham combines in himself—as he is quite capable of doing—the joint office of First Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary of State for War we shall see a Budget for naval and military expenditure larger than the sum total of the Budget that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be submitting to this House in the course of a few weeks.

I remember Sir William Harcourt's great Budget of about twenty years ago. We looked to the additional revenue that was to accrue from that Budget as a means of financing long-delayed schemes of social reform. What happened? Not a penny of public advantage has come from the new taxes that were then levied. Four years ago we were fighting in defense of the Budget proposed by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Why? We were fighting for this new taxation, not that it might be spent upon "Dreadnoughts"; not that it might go as increased profit into the pockets of armament firms. We supported the Budget because we believed that the additional revenue was going to be devoted to deal with problems of old age, poverty, unemployment, the education question, better housing, and the like. To sum up the whole question, the increase in naval expenditure has absorbed practically all the additional revenue which has come from the taxation imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer some years ago. What about the First Lord of the Admiralty? Two years ago he assumed that the Budget had been devised and a General Election had been fought upon it; that a constitutional crisis had arisen, solely that additional money might be provided for him to spend in extending the Navy. What did the right hon. gentleman say?—

It is right for me to say that the great scale which our naval armaments have been forced to assume, has only been rendered possible by the wonderful fertility of the great Budget of 1909, for which my right honorable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be long and variously remembered.

There was something in the nature of prophecy in the selection of that word "variously." The increase in the sum spent upon the Navy, based on this year's Estimates, is practically equal to the sum this Government has spent upon social reform. The attention which the right hon. gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty gave to me just now reminds me that when I was speaking on this question two years ago I said that our party was not going to take "Dreadnoughts" as a substitute for social reform. I remember how heartily the right hon. gentleman applauded that statement. But that is what we are doing. What is the excuse always put forward when we want money for some social reform? It is that the expenditure of the nation is so high that more money cannot be provided. If it had not been for this £20,000,000 increase of naval expenditure, what could we not have done? This Government during its ten years of office has spent £360,000,000 upon the Navy. With half of that sum we could have established a Utopia in this dear land of ours. With that £20,000,000 alone we could have wiped out the tea tax, the sugar tax, and all the food taxes, and still have had a sum left which would have enabled you to attempt something in the way of better housing, better education, and so on, for our people. As a matter of fact, we are the most heavily taxed nation for war purposes in Europe. The only comparative figures I have been able to obtain are for 1912. In that year the expenditure upon the Army and Navy in the United Kingdom worked out at just under 32*s.* per head. The next highest country is France, with 24*s.* 7*d.*; then comes Germany, with 17*s.* 8*d.* But even the £51,000,000 odd which we are asked to spend upon the Navy during the coming year is not the only cost of the Navy. By the expenditure of this money you are withdrawing labor from remunerative and far more productive employment. To that extent there is a loss in the real wealth of the nation. The First Lord of the Admiralty talked yesterday, when he was dealing with the labor problem, as though it was a good thing for the community to spend money in the employment of labor for battleships. From the economic point of view, and I would add, from the point of view of social economy, it would be just as wise, well, and profitable for the community to spend the same amount of money to employ the same labor to make fireworks and let them off.

What are the obstacles in the way of a substantial reduction of this expenditure? Why is it mounting up? The Governments—not only our own Government, but the Governments of all the European nations—profess to deplore it. The only speech I have heard upon the question by a responsible Minister in recent years who did not deplore it and who did not make an appeal for a better understanding between the nations of Europe was that of the First Lord of the Admiralty yesterday. The only thing in which he appeared to glory was that even the smaller nations of Europe were now getting a mania for a fleet and were trying to emulate the example set them by the great nations of Europe. What, in spite of these conditions, is the obstacle in the way of a better understanding? Lord Welby, who has held the highest and most responsible position as a permanent Civil Servant in this country, who was at the head of the Treasury, who is a man of world-wide reputation in matters of financial knowledge and a man of sterling probity, was speaking on this question a few weeks ago, and he said:

> We are in the hands of an organization of crooks. They are politicians, generals, manufacturers of armaments and journalists. All of them are anxious for unlimited expenditure, and go on inventing scares to terrify the public and to terrify Ministers of the Crown.

I referred to the slang dictionary to see what was the meaning of "crooks." I was familiar with it only as the name of a very popular and very peaceful Member of this House. When I turned up the meaning of this word in the dictionary I found that the same word may very often represent very different things. I find that the definition of "a crook" is—it is an ugly word—"a thief," "a swindler," "a man who gains his ends by crooked ways." Let us translate Lord Welby's words. He says:

> We are in the hands of an organization of thieves! swindlers! They are politicians, generals, manufacturers of armaments, and all of them are anxious for unlimited expenditure, and go on inventing scares to terrify the public and to terrify the Ministers of the Crown.

That is an extremely serious charge to be made by a responsible ex-public servant like Lord Welby. Can it be substantiated? I venture to submit to this House that it can be substantiated up to the hilt. We had a scare in 1909. That was not the first scare of the same character. If time would permit I could go through half a dozen previous scares and show that the features of each were precisely the same. They were all engineered during a time of trade depression—and

engineered for the purpose of forcing Governments to spend money in the provision of additional armaments. I am not going to deal at any length with the scare of 1909. It is so recent and the facts that later came to light were so remarkable that possibly the incidents are fairly well known. What was the state of trade in the shipbuilding world, and in many of the armament firms at the time when the scare was introduced? In the early part of 1909, Earl Cawdor, who presided at the Institution of Naval Architects, said:

> During the past twelve months, with the exception of the "Vanguard" building at Barrow, not one British battleship has been laid down in a private shipbuilding yard at home.

The "Naval Annual" goes on to make a somewhat similar statement. I come to a statement made just about the same time by a gentleman who at that time was a member of this House, but who has since been translated to other regions. He was then known as Sir Charles MacLaren. He was the chairman and director of more than one of these armament firms. Sir Charles MacLaren, at the annual meeting of John Brown and Co., of which he is chairman, said:

> Things were bad twelve months ago, and he was sorry to say they were bad still. He had seen no evidence of improvement during the past twelve months, and really there was very little evidence of distinct improvement in the immediate future.

What was going on at the time of this exceptional depression? Why, all these firms were engaged in increasing their capital, putting down new slipways, preparing for the time which they knew from past experience, and their knowledge of instruments they were able to work, would come sooner or later. Just before the scare, Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. had equipped a new gun-mounting shop, with three erecting pits and ample storage room for ordnance; the Coventry Ordnance Works, Limited, had completed in 1908 their great gun-mounting establishment at Scotstoun. Messrs. Beardmore and Co., Limited, with the aid of Vickers, Limited, had been making extensions at Parkhead Works. All this time these men and their representatives were working behind the scene. The House will remember the Mulliner incident. Mr. Mulliner was a director of the Coventry Ordnance Works. What is the Coventry Ordnance Works? It is another name for John Brown and Co. The Cammel, Laird Company and the John Brown Company own most of the shares. Now, we had it on the authority of Mr. Mul-

liner himself that for three years before 1909 he was constantly writing to the Government and appealing to them in other ways to spend more money upon armaments, and giving them information, which was afterwards found to be totally untrue, in relation to what Germany was doing. I do not suppose that it is a very usual practice for Cabinet Ministers to interview commercial travelers and touts, but they made a departure on this occasion, and after three years of importunity, they enlisted the services of this gentleman, who was received by the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet; and then the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Admiralty came down to this House with that bogus story about the acceleration of the German programme, and it has since come to light that their only authority was the man whose works were standing idle at that time, and who was so anxious to get Government work. The statement which the hon. Member for Fareham [Mr. Arthur Lee] made himself responsible for at that time will not be very soon forgotten. A cry went up: "We want eight, and won't wait"; and they did not wait, and then the contingent ships were laid down, and they got the work. These are the very men who had been using this means to induce the public to spend money.

I find from the "Navy League Annual," that before this scare the amount of private contracts for new construction was £7,000,000. The year 1910–11 was the first year of the new programme, and in that year private contracts went up by £4,500,000, but there was no more work given to the Government dockyards; it all went to private contractors of the armament ring, who forced the Government into this expenditure. I remember my hon. friend the Member for Woolwich (Mr Crooks) pleading with the then First Lord of the Admiralty for some work for Woolwich. Hon. Members smile at that, but there you have the painful illustration of how this system incidentally makes a man do a thing which he and his party utterly abhorred. But the First Lord would give no part of the additional work to Woolwich. It all went to increase the profits and the dividends of these private firms. What do I find on examination of the balance sheets of the firms which constitute the armament ring? I find in the year before the scare Messrs. Vickers' profits amounting to £424,000. Two years after that they were nearly double that amount. Every year since the success of their intrigue their profits have gone up—£474,000, £544,000, £745,000, £872,000. The precise figures of their profits for the last twelve months are not yet

obtainable, but they show another addition, so that their profits are increased by £500,000 a year as a result of the success of the scare they engineered four years ago. Now, what are the other component parts of this ring? Let us take Armstrong's. That is the other firm in this ring of which the First Lord of the Admiralty spoke very affectionately some time ago. He said that the relations of the Admiralty with Vickers and another large firm in the trade are far more cordial than the ordinary relations of business. That might be one reason why the representative of these firms was received in audience at a Cabinet Council. In the year of the scare Armstrong's profits amounted to £429,000. They went on mounting up until last year (1912) they had risen to £777,000 with an increase in dividend. Another firm, Messrs. Beardmore, shows on examination of their profits exactly the same thing. In 1909 their profits were £72,000; in 1911 they were three times that sum—£201,000.

I have spoken of the armament ring. What is that ring? It is a combination of four, or five—strictly speaking—of the principal firms engaged in this trade. Patriotism is not one of the distinguishing features of the trade methods of this great combine. For instance, I find Messrs. Vickers have works at Barrow, Sheffield, Birmingham, but they do not confine themselves to this country. They have a yard in Placentia de las Armas, in Spain; they have another place in Spezzia, in Italy. They are evidently taking time by the forelock. They anticipate the promise of a Mediterranean squadron. It is no wonder that I find the shares of Vickers, Armstrong and Co., Cammell, Laird, and Co. went up on the Stock Exchange after the report of the First Lord's speech. The ring has also an interest in the Whitehead Torpedo Factory in Fiume, in Austria-Hungary, and it is against Austria we are asked to lay down this Fleet in the Mediterranean. And, again, as the newspapers have reminded us so much in the last week or two, they have a place on the Volga, in Russia; indeed, they have two. They have also a shipyard in South America, and in anticipation of the development of the Canadian Navy, they have laid down works in Montreal. Another component part of the trust was there before them, and John Brown and Co. have what is going to be the largest shipyard in the world in New Brunswick.

I said patriotism is not a distinguishing characteristic of the methods of these firms. As a matter of fact, these firms are not English. Their management is international and their shareholders are inter-

national. For instance, I find on examination of the share lists of Messrs. Vickers that they have shareholders living in Italy, Japan, Russia, Brazil, Canada, Australia, China, Spain, and Chili; and, after all, I think we are entitled to say that these men are true internationals. Now I ask again, what is this armament ring? It comprises Vickers, Armstrong, John Brown, Cammell-Laird—the Coventry Ordnance Works is a subsidiary firm. Vickers, for instance, not only own works directly, but they are large controllers of the Wolseley Tool and Motor Company and the Electric and Ordnance Accessories Company. Messrs. Vickers not only own the business with which their name is associated, but they own a quarter of the shares of Whitehead and Co.'s torpedo manufacture; and Whitehead and Co., torpedo manufacturers, also have a large factory in Austria, building torpedoes to destroy the ships that Vickers are building now. So the shareholders of the armament ring can look forward with equanimity to whatever happens. It is no matter to them whether it is an Austrian ship or a German ship or a British ship that sinks, they can throw up their hats and shout, "More ships, more profits, higher dividends." John Brown and Co. have a great works at Sheffield with which their name is associated, they have a great shipping yard on the Clyde bank, and they have over seven-eighths of the shares of Thomas Firth and Sons, Limited, and half the shares in the Coventry Ordnance Works. But I may add that after the Mulliner incident this company changed their managing director. After the exposure of the means by which he succeeded in engineering the naval scare of 1909 the Government came to the conclusion he was not the man who ought to be retained as managing director of the firm with which the Government had contracts; therefore Mr. Mulliner was discharged, and there was appointed in his place an Admiral of the Fleet, with a salary of £7,000 a year and seven years' engagement. John Brown and Co. are also associated with Beardmore; they interchanged two directors with Palmer's Shipbuilding Company and Projectile Company, and they have one director, in common with Hadfield Foundry, Limited, and with Cammell, Laird and Co., so that when you touch one of the firms of this ring you touch the others. You do not know, to use the words of the coster song, "Which is which, and which is the other." I come now to the shareholders. I find the trustee for the debenture holders in Vickers is Lord Sandhurst, who at the present time occupies the position of Lord Chamberlain. I find that the Member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield

[the Right Hon. Stuart-Wortley], who rose so promptly in the debate the other day—when the First Lord of the Admiralty had suggested the possibility of getting armor plate from abroad—in order to point out that there were great firms in this country who had been encouraged by the expectation of Government work to lay down expensive plant. He practically said it would be a breach of faith on the part of the Government to take away from these people the expectations they had been given. The right hon. gentleman is a debenture trustee for Vickers, and he is also debenture trustee for Cammell, Laird and Co.

Now who are the shareholders? It would be too long for me to give more than a very short selection from the list, but I find that hon. Members in this House are very largely concerned: indeed, it would be impossible to throw a stone on the Benches opposite without hitting a Member who is a shareholder in one or other of these firms. I am sorry for the sudden hilarity of my hon. friends, for the shareholders in these armament firms are not confined to Unionist Members. I find that the bishops are very well represented. Among the shareholders in Armstrong I find the name of an hon. Member opposite as the holder of 5,000 shares—the Member for Armagh [Sir J. Lonsdale], who asked seven questions in five weeks in 1909—the scare year—as to when orders for gun-mountings would be placed. The hon. Member for Osgoldcross Division of Yorkshire [Sir J. C. Rickett]—I congratulate him on his election last week as hon. President of the Free Church Council—is the great Imperialist. I have often seen his portrait in the Jingo Press as that of a man who placed patriotism and Empire before all considerations of sordid selfishness. I find that he is the holder of 3,200 shares in John Brown, and 2,100 shares in Cammell-Laird. Another of the Members for Sheffield figures in practically every list, as he figures in every debate of this House when there is a possibility of more money being spent on arms and ships. I refer to the Member for the Eccleshall Division [Mr. S. Roberts]. He is a shareholder in John Brown, a director of Cammell-Laird, also debenture trustee of the Fairfield Company, and a shareholder in the Coventry Ordnance Works.

It would hardly be fair to ignore the Liberals altogether. I find that a director of Palmer is Lord Aberconway, and that a Liberal Member of this House is one of his codirectors, the Member for the Bosworth Division of Leicester [Mr. H. D. McLaren]. I spoke of

the "internationalism" of this, and I find the shareholders in Cammell-Laird include a considerable number of names with which I am not familiar. Another shareholder in Cammell-Laird is the representative of the Northern Division of Manchester [Sir C. E. Schwann]. I want to say one or two words about the Harvey Trust, which was formed a few years ago, and which represented, I think, the most up-to-date and complete form of capitalist organization the world has ever seen. Its internationalism was complete. It was formed for the purpose of working certain rights in the manufacture of armor plate, and it combined together the interests in Britain of Vickers, Armstrong, Beardmore, John Brown, Fairfield, Cammell-Laird, the Projectile Company, Palmer, and Hadfields-Coventry; of half a dozen of the leading firms in the United States; of firms in France, Italy, and Germany (Krupps). The directors were representatives of Beardmore, John Brown, Armstrong, Vickers, Cammell-Laird, the French Steel Company, Schneider, and others.

I find in the list of shareholders here the name of the present Colonial Secretary, and the name of the present Postmaster-General also figures as a shareholder in Armstrong. I said something about the cosmopolitan character of the shareholders' list. Of course, in such a combination as the Harvey Steel Trust, it is only to be expected that a large number of foreign names would appear. I referred a moment or two back to the case of the Admiral of the Fleet who had been appointed managing director of one of these undertakings. That is not the only instance in which men have been taken from the service of the Crown and placed directly in influential positions under this armament ring. There is, of course, a reason for it. I will not give it in my own words, but in those of a representative trade organ. There is a paper called *Arms and Explosives*, devoted to the interests of the armament trade, and in September last this paper wrote—and I ask the special attention of the House to the quotation, because it puts the matter far more clearly than I could do:

> Contractors naturally are very keen to avail themselves of the services of prominent officers who have been associated with the work in which the contractors are interested. The chief thing is that they know the ropes, since the retired officer, who keeps in touch with his old comrades, is able to lessen some of these inconveniences, either by gaining early information of coming events, or by securing the ear of one who would not afford like favors to a civilian. . . . Kissing undoubtedly goes by favor, and some of the things that happen might be characterized as corruption. Still, judged by all fair tests the result is good. The organization of facilities for supply is maintained through times of peace on an efficient and eco-

nomical basis. Manufacturers do not make huge profits, and they are enabled to survive from year to year, and to be on hand in the case of national emergency.

The thought of Armstrong subsisting on a dividend of 12½ per cent., and Vickers on 10 per cent., putting an equal amount to the reserve fund, is most affecting. Sir Andrew Noble, of the Royal Artillery, joined Armstrong in its early days. He is now chairman. There are other cases. I come to what I think will be admitted as the most serious of these transfers, the case of Sir George Murray, who succeeded Lord Welby as Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, a position of great responsibility. Nothing can be more disastrous for the financial reputation of this country than that there should be a suspicion—I do not put it any higher—of the strict probity of men who are in the position of permanent head of this great Department. One cannot avoid suspicion being expressed in some quarters when a highly placed public servant takes his pension and immediately after takes his seat upon a board having the closest business relations with the Government. Why did he go to the board of Armstrong? He is not an engineering expert; he is not a naval expert. I add, in the words of *Arms and Explosives*, "He knows the ropes. He keeps in touch with his old comrades. He can smooth away any inconveniences." I will not, as this paper does, characterize it as corruption.

Then we have the case of Rear-Admiral Ottley, Naval Attaché to Russia, Japan, France, United States, and Italy—so that he will "know the ropes" on both sides. He was Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defense, and he went from a position like this, a responsible adviser of the Government on these important matters, to be the director of a firm which is making huge profits out of Government contracts. This was the man of whom "Excubitor" said, when he was writing his articles on the Navy, that he "acquired, as Attaché, an intimate insight into the naval methods of foreign Powers. From all sources, home and foreign, facts, figures, deductions, and suggestions are continually passing into the Naval Intelligence Department at Whitehall." Now we are arming against Italy, and this man, ex-secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defense, director of Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., is also a director of Armstrong's Italian firm, Armstrong-Pozzuoli, on the Italian coast. How can it be possible that naval secrets can be retained? Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., of Newcastle and of Italy, are in possession of the most confidential facts in relation to the doings

of both the Italian Government and the British Government, and it would require a great amount of business probity to prevent them disclosing the facts from the one branch of the firm to the other.

Now turn to Vickers. Lord Sandhurst, who is the debenture trustee, was Under-Secretary for War in 1886 and from 1892 to 1895 in a Liberal Government. Then we come to a very interesting personality, Sir Lieut. Trevor Dawson. He is managing director of Vickers, lately acting as their superintendent of ordnance, and he is, of course, specially connected with their works at Spezzia, Italy. These men must have had the gift of prophecy and foresight. They must have known years ago that statements such as the one made by the First Lord would be made in this House. Sir Trevor Dawson is a director also of a steel foundry in Japan, so that, whether Japan be an ally of this country or not, they are going to be all right. He is also on the board of William Beardmore and Co. Yet the Navy talk about tendering for contracts! How can you get a tender from Vickers? You are getting it from Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., and from William Beardmore and Co. The whole thing is a farce. I need not go through the list. There are dozens of them. There is not, as a matter of fact, a single large firm doing contract work for the Government which has not either upon its board or in its service a man who has been in the service of the Government and who knows the ropes, and who, in the words of that extract from *Arms and Explosives*, is likely to be able to gain that various information which will be useful. I may just say a word about Hadfields' Steel Foundry. They have a very distinguished major-general upon their staff, Major-General Brackenbury. He was Director of Military Intelligence 1886–91, and he was a member of the Council of the Viceroy of India. He was President of the Ordnance Committee, 1896–99, at the War Office; Director of Ordnance, 1899–1904; and is a Vice-President of the National Service League.

Yesterday the Nobel Trust decided to call in some hundreds of thousands worth of unsubscribed capital. Vickers, too, have announced that they are going to increase their share capital by £1,000,000. Why? The First Lord told us yesterday that their general trade had declined, and that they expected to be able to accelerate Government work on account of the greater scarcity of other kinds of work. Why, at a time like this, when, judging by the evidence, one would think that we were near the beginning of a period of trade de-

pression, should these companies increase their capital by millions? They are just beginning now preparations for another scare, which will mature in two or three years' time, and if I have the opportunity of speaking in this place two or three years hence, I shall be able to repeat the facts and the instances associated with the previous scare down to the minutest detail. I said that the late First Lord stated that the relations between the Government and this armament ring were more cordial than the ordinary relations of business. They are, indeed; and the Government have, during the last few years, brought forward evidence that they do appreciate the patriotic services these firms render to the Departments. One of the first acts of this Liberal Government was to ennoble Mr. Pirrie, of Harland and Wolff, and he is a debenture trustee of the Coventry Ordnance and John Brown and Company. You cannot touch one without touching the other. The ordinary man would never suspect that the great shipbuilding firm of Harland and Wolff had very much interest in armaments. All the ordinary man knows about Harland and Wolff is that it has built some of the great Atlantic liners. Mr. Hadfield, the chairman of a very successful company which for a great many years has never paid less than 20 per cent., was knighted in 1908. Lieut. Trevor Dawson, of Vickers, and of other firms in the ring, was made a knight in 1909. I may pass over the baronetcy which was given to the late Lord Furness, afterwards followed by a peerage. Sir Charles MacLaren, chairman of one of the rings, was, as we know, ennobled. There are others. There is the case of Lord Glenconner, who combines the positions of chairman of the Tharsis Sulphur and Copper Company and of an influential shareholder in Nobels, with that of the High Commissioner of the Kirk in Scotland. I want to speak now with particular reference to Italy and Austria, because it is against Italy and Austria that we are asked to equip the Mediterranean Fleet. I have already referred to the fact that Vickers have works in association with the Vickers-Terni Company in Italy. They are also interested in Whitehead's Torpedo Works at Fiume, in Hungary. The Vickers-Terni seem to be to Italy what Vickers is to Great Britain. The *Engineer* newspaper says they are not to be considered as a private company, but as a national institution working for national aims. The "Navy League Annual" for 1911 had this very illuminating paragraph:

> The modern naval resources of Italy for the building of warships owe their own origin in no small measure to the coöperation of British capital and resources.

In diplomacy we are supposed to be not on very good terms with Italy. It is necessary to spend millions in building "Dreadnoughts" to protect our interests in the Mediterranean against the possible aggression of Italy, and yet at the same time Italian warship building is indebted to the coöperation of British capital and resources. It is no use going through the list. I could give a great many others. Therefore, if ever these Italian ships—let Heaven long delay the time! —do come in conflict with our own ships, it will be British capital that will be booming on both sides. Just a word or two about Austria, as the position of Austria has assumed great importance from the statement made by the First Lord yesterday. Submarines and all the torpedoes used in the Austrian Navy, besides several of the new seaplanes, are made by the Whitehead Torpedo Works in Hungary. This firm has also a place at Weymouth. They are making torpedoes for the British Navy at Weymouth, and torpedoes with British capital in Hungary in order to destroy British ships. This reference appeared in Armstrong, Whitworth and Co.'s annual report in regard to their interests in Austrian torpedo works:

The directors in view of the important part played by torpedoes in naval warfare have acquired an interest in Whitehead and Company.

I want to refer very briefly to one other point. Members of Parliament who are not directors of armament firms and not shareholders cannot always avoid being influenced in their actions by the fact that they have in their constituency those who are interested. I make no personal imputation whatever upon the honesty of the hon. Member whose words I am going to quote. I am quite sure that he regrets the action I am now going to describe as much as any man possibly could. We have in this House some half-dozen Members who represent dockyard constituencies, or in whose constituencies are firms who employ a large number of men who, under existing conditions, depend for their livelihood upon naval expenditure. The hon. Member who represents the Brightside Division of Sheffield [Sir J. Tudor Walters] is in such an unfortunate position. He was addressing his constituents on July 31, 1907, and it appears that there had been complaints that he had not been getting sufficient orders from the Admiralty and from the War Office for Sheffield, and he was being compared with his predecessor to his own disadvantage in this respect. This is what he said in a public speech in his constituency:

When he secured from the Government a large order for Sheffield, he was not so simple as to go shouting about it in the House of Commons. If you shout you can-

not do much. If you want to accomplish things, you have to go to work quietly and carefully. It is not for me to shout about orders. It is for me to go to the War Office and the Admiralty and get them.

Nobody, I think, can help feeling sympathy with a Member of Parliament who is compelled, like a commercial bagman, to go to the War Office and the Admiralty begging for orders because the maintenance of his seat depends on his success in that direction. What can I suggest as a way out of the difficulty? The first suggestion I make is that something must be done to get out of the clutches of these crooks, swindlers, and thieves, politicians and generals, makers of armaments. It is also important we should give some practical proof of our desire that this naval expenditure should end. In spite of the high-sounding words uttered by successive First Lords of the Admiralty in favor of a reduction of naval armaments, nothing practical has been done. The right hon. gentleman spoke some time ago about a naval holiday, but it was stated in the last naval debate in the Reichstag that there never had been any proposal made by this Government for the reduction of international armaments. If this profession means anything at all, let the Government give it practical shape. Year after year we hear statements in Germany and France, as well as in this country, about the wasteful expenditure on armaments. Not long since our present Foreign Secretary said that if this thing went on there could be only one of two possible results: either a Europe knee-deep in blood or bankrupt European nations. What is the use of such talk? Is European statesmanship so bankrupt that it cannot find any means of giving practical expression to what everybody professes to be their desires?

We have been told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this is the most favorable moment in the last twenty years for doing this. When we opened our newspapers last New Year's morning and read his New Year's message to the nation, some of us hoped, and were for a moment inclined to believe, that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer was at last going to have the courage of the late Lord Randolph Churchill. But we have been disappointed. What did he say?

> The most favorable moment for the last twenty years.

And he went on to say:

> Unless Liberalism seizes this favorable opportunity it will be false to its noblest traditions, and those who have the consciences of Liberalism in their charge will be written down for all time as having betrayed their trust.

Are Ministers to be written down for all time as having betrayed their trust? I have noticed what has been to me a very painful

change during the last week or two in the attitude of two or three Liberal journals upon this question. I do not hesitate to mention names—the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Nation*, and the *Daily News and Leader*. Three months ago they were speaking on this question in a way which gave satisfaction to all of us. But they have been practically silent during the last few weeks, and last week the *Nation* dismissed the whole question in one short paragraph in the news topics. What is the meaning of that? I think the explanation is that pressure has been brought to bear upon these people to remain silent. Appeals may have been made to them, pointing out the present precarious position of certain other questions. I am as ardently anxious to see Home Rule placed on the Statute Book as any Member of this House, but you can pay too high a price even for that. Whatever may be the fate of the Government, I, for one, and I speak practically for all my colleagues, will not give one vote in this House during the present session, whatever the consequences may be, which can be construed by any stretch of imagination as being in support either of the amount of these Estimates or of the policy foreshadowed by the First Lord yesterday. Really it is time that we changed all this wasteful expenditure. It is time we began to realize that a beautiful school is a grander sight than a battleship—a contented and prosperous peasantry than great battalions. It is time we began to realize that

> Peace hath her victories
> No less renowned than war.

The Prime Minister stated some weeks ago that the solution of this question was in the hands of international democracy. It is so. The peoples of the world have in the past trusted to kings, nobles, and plutocrats, and each of them has failed. It is now for the people to trust themselves. The workers of the world have no animosities; they have no jealousies; they have no diverse interests. All they want is freedom to work and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor. I say again we echo, in the same sentiments as our comrades in the French Parliament and the German Reichstag, our determination to do what we can to change national opinion and national ideas upon this question, and I do not despair of our doing so. The dawn comes slow—how slow!—but it does come, and I believe that out of the chaos and strife that now prevail there are rising brighter and better times, when nation will no more lift up its hand against nation, and when all the people of the earth will realize that of all the great and priceless blessings of humanity, the greatest of all is peace.

World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

NATIONAL HONOR AND PEACE

By LOUIS BROIDO

NATIONAL HONOR AND VITAL INTERESTS

By RUSSELL WEISMAN

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PRIZE ORATIONS

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NATIONAL HONOR AND PEACE[1]

By Louis Broido, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Since the dawn of history the teachers, thinkers, and prophets of mankind have prayed and labored for the abolition of war. In the process of the centuries, their hope has become the aspiration of the mass of men. Growing slowly, as do all movements for righteousness, the cause of peace first claimed the attention of the world in the year 1899, when Nicholas of Russia called the nations together to discuss ways and means for the arbitration of international differences and for the abolition of war. From that day on, the movement for peace has progressed by leaps and bounds, and to-day it has reached the highest point of its development.

Already nations have signed treaties to arbitrate many of their differences. Holland, Denmark, Argentina, and Chile have agreed to arbitrate every dispute. But these nations are not potent enough in world affairs for their action to have an international influence. It remains for the great powers like England, France, Germany, and the United States to agree to submit every difficulty to arbitration, and thus take the step that will result in the practical abolition of war.

If one would find the reasons that thus far have kept the great powers from agreeing to submit *all* differences to arbitration, his search need not be long nor difficult. The Peace Conference of 1907 reports that the objections to international arbitration have dwindled to four. Of these objections the one commonly considered of most weight is this: "We will not submit to arbitration questions involving our national honor." Even so recently as the spring of 1912, our own Senate refused to give its assent to President Taft's proposed treaties with France and England to arbitrate all differences, and refused on the ground that "we cannot agree to arbitrate questions involving our national honor." This is the statement that you and I as workers for peace are constantly called upon to refute.

Let us, therefore, consider what honor is. For centuries honor was maintained and justice determined among men by a strong arm

[1] First Prize Oration in the North Atlantic Group and Second Prize in the National Contest held at Mohonk Lake, May 28, 1914.

and a skillfully used weapon. It mattered not that often the guilty won and the dishonorable succeeded. Death was the arbiter, honor was appeased, and men were satisfied. But with the growth of civilization there slowly came to man the consciousness that honor can be maintained only by use of reason and justice administered only in the light of truth. Then private settlement of quarrels practically ceased; trial by combat was abolished; and men learned that real honor lies in the graceful and manly acceptance of decisions rendered by impartial judges.

As men have risen to higher ideals of honor in their relations with one another, so nations have risen to a higher standard in international affairs. Centuries ago tyrants ruled and waged war on any pretext; now before rulers rush to arms, they stop to count the cost. Nations once thought it honorable to use poisoned bullets and similar means of destruction; a growing humanitarianism has compelled them to abandon such practices. At one time captives were killed outright; there was a higher conception of honor when they were forced into slavery; now the quickening sense of universal sympathy compels belligerent nations to treat prisoners of war humanely and to exchange them at the close of the conflict. At one time neutrals were not protected; now their rights are generally recognized. A few hundred years ago arbitration was almost unknown; in the last century more than six hundred cases were settled by peaceful means.

During the last quarter of a century we have caught a glimpse of a new national honor. It is the belief that battle and bloodshed, except for the immediate defense of hearth and home, is a blot on the 'scutcheon of any nation. It is the creed of modern men who rise in their majesty and say: "We will not stain our country's honor with the bloodshed of war. God-given life is too dear. The forces of vice, evil, and disease are challenging us to marshal our strength and give them battle. There is too much good waiting to be done, too much suffering waiting to be appeased, for us to waste the life-blood of our fathers and sons on the field of useless battle. Here do we stand. We believe we are right. With faith in our belief we throw ourselves upon the altar of truth. Let heaven-born justice decide." Here is honor unsmirched, untainted! Here is pride unhumbled! Here is patriotism that is all-embracing, that makes us so zealous for real honor that we turn from the horrors of war to combat the evils that lie at our very doors.

We know that faith in such national honor will abolish war. We

know, too, that men will have war only so long as they want war. If this be true, then, just as soon as you and I, in whose hands the final decision for or against war must ever rest, express through the force of an irresistible public opinion the doctrine that our conception of national honor demands the arbitration of every dispute, just so soon will our legislators free themselves from financial dictators and liberate the country from the dominance of a false conception of national honor.

Do you say this ideal is impractical? History proves that questions of the utmost importance can be peacefully settled without the loss of honor. The Casa Blanca dispute between France and Germany, the Venezuela question, the North Atlantic Fisheries case, the Alabama claims—these are proof indisputable that questions of honor may be successfully arbitrated. "Does not this magnificent achievement," says Carl Schurz of the Alabama settlement, "form one of the most glorious pages of the common history of England and America? Truly, the two great nations that accomplished this need not be afraid of unadjustable questions of honor in the future."

In the face of such splendid examples, how meaningless is the doctrine of the enemies of peace: "We will not arbitrate questions of national honor. We will decide for ourselves what is right and for that right we will stand, even if this course plunges us into the maelstrom of war. We will not allow our country to be dishonored by any other." Well has Andrew Carnegie expressed the modern view: "Our country cannot be dishonored by any other country, or by all the powers combined. It is impossible. All honor wounds are self-inflicted. We alone can dishonor ourselves or our country." One sure way of doing so is to insist upon the unlawful and unjust demand that we sit as judges in our own case, instead of agreeing to abide by the decision of a court or a tribunal. We are told that this is the stand of a weakling, that progress demands the fighting spirit. We, too, demand the fighting spirit; but we condemn the military spirit. We are told that strong men fight for honor. We answer with Mrs. Mead: "Justice and honor are larger words than peace, and if fighting would enable us to get justice and maintain honor, I would fight! But it is not that way!" For it is impossible to maintain honor by recourse to arms; right may fall before might, and, viewed in the light of its awful cost, even victory is defeat. In the words of Nicholas Murray Butler: "To argue that a nation's honor must be defended by the blood of its citizens, if need be, is quite meaningless,

for any nation, though profoundly right in its contention, might be defeated at the hands of a superior force exerted in behalf of an unjust and unrighteous cause. What becomes of national honor then?"

Too long have we been fighting windmills; we must struggle with ourselves; we must conquer the passions that have blinded our reason. We have been enrolled in the army of thoughtlessness; the time has come to enroll in the army of God. We have followed a false ideal of honor; we must disillusion ourselves and the world. If men declare that the preservation of courage and manliness demand that we fight, let us lead them to the fight, not against each other, but against all that is unrighteous and undesirable in our national life. Men still cling to an ancient conception of national honor; let us convince them that there is a newer and higher conception. Men still declare that peace is the dream of the poet and prophet; let us prove by historical example that questions, even of national honor, can be happily settled by arbitration. If men despair, let us remind them that to-day, as never before, the mass of men are slowly and surely working out God's plan for this great cause.

The day of triumph is not far distant. Already the moving finger of Time paints on the wide horizon, in the roseate tints of the dawn, the picture of Peace—Peace, the victory of victories, beside which Marathon and Gettysburg pale into insignificance; victory without the strains of martial music, unaccompanied by the sob of widowed and orphaned; victory on God's battlefield in humanity's war on war.

NATIONAL HONOR AND VITAL INTERESTS[2]

By Russell Weisman, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio

The day for deprecating in general terms the evils of war and of extolling the glories of peace is past. Such argument is little needed. International trade requires peace. International finance dictates peace. Even armies and navies are now justified primarily as agents of peace. Yet so wantonly are these agents looting the world's treasuries that they are themselves forcing their own displacement by courts of arbitration. The two hundred and fifty disputes successfully arbitrated in the past century challenge with trumpet-tongued eloquence the support of all men for reason's peaceful rule. To-day no discussion is needed to show that if war is to be abolished, if navies are to dwindle and armies diminish, if there is to be a federation of the world, it must come through treaties of arbitration. In this way alone lies peace; yet in this way lies the present great barrier to further progress—the conception which many nations, especially the United States, hold of "national honor and vital interests." The reservation from arbitration of so-called matters of national honor and vital interests constitutes the weak link in every existing arbitration treaty between the great powers of the world. This reservation furnishes the big-navy men all the argument they need. It destroys the binding power of the treaties by allowing either party to any dispute to refuse arbitration. It was by this reservation that the United States Senate so lately killed the British and the French treaties. And I contend here to-night that the one subject which imperatively demands discussion is national honor and vital interests. That the next important step must be the exposure of the reactionary influence of the United States in excepting these matters from arbitration.

Only fifteen months ago President Taft made his memorable declaration that this barrier ought to be removed from the pathway of

[2] First Prize Oration in the Eastern Group Contest, 1912, and Second Prize in the National Contest held at Mohonk Lake, May 16, 1912.

peace. He proposed that the United States negotiate new treaties to abide by the adjudication of courts in every international issue which could not be settled by negotiation, whether involving honor or territory or money. The next morning the proposal was heralded by the press throughout the world. A few days later the halls of Parliament resounded with applause when Great Britain's secretary of state for foreign affairs announced that his government would welcome such a treaty with the United States. France soon followed. Then, to the surprise of all, hesitating Germany and cautious Japan showed a like willingness to enter into such agreements. Universal peace seemed all but realized.

The cause was at once borne up on a mighty wave of public opinion. The peace societies were in a frenzy of activity. Mass meetings of indorsement were held in England and America. Editorials of approval appeared in all parts of the world. The movement was now irresistible. Within eight months the British and the French treaties were drafted. Three of the greatest nations of the world were at last to commit themselves unreservedly to the cause of international peace. Even disputes involving national honor should not halt the beneficent work of high courts of law and of reason. The day when the treaties were signed, August 3, 1911, was hailed as a red-letter day in the annals of the civilized world. It was proclaimed the dawn of a new and auspicious era in the affairs of men and of nations.

During all the months preceding the action of the Senate on these treaties the only statesman of any prominence to raise his voice in opposition was ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. The gist of his successive and violent attacks on the treaties is contained in this utterance, which I quote, "It would be not merely foolish but wicked for us as a nation to agree to arbitrate any dispute that affects our vital interests or our independence or our honor." In this spirit, to the surprise and disappointment of the whole nation, the Senate amended the treaties out of their original intent, and placed upon them limitations that defeated their purpose. By the Senate's action the United States is still committed to the pretense that there may be occasion for a just and solemn war, that vital interests and national honor may force us to fight.

What, then, are the vital interests that can be conserved only by saber and bullet? Nothing more, nothing less, according to various acknowledged authorities, than a state's independence and its territorial integrity. Did the keen mind of our former president really

foresee the seizure of some of our territory by England or France? Yet he protests that it would be "not merely foolish but wicked for us as a nation to agree to arbitrate any dispute that affects our vital interests." Did Senator Lodge and his threescore colleagues who amended the treaties actually fear an attempt to overthrow our form of government, to destroy our political institutions, or to take away those individual rights and sacred privileges upon which our government was founded? Yet to save us from such fate they refused unlimited arbitration.

For the United States to except from arbitration her vital interests is obvious pretense. To add thereto her national honor is extreme hypocrisy. What is national honor? No man knows. It is one thing to-day; another, to-morrow. It may involve an indemnity claim, a boundary line, a fisheries dispute. In fact, any controversy may be declared by either party, at will, to be a question of national honor. Thus in the hands of an unskilled or malicious diplomacy, any question which was originally a judicial one may become a question of national honor. What, then, will we arbitrate? Every case in which a favorable award is assured us. If we want Texas, we send an army after it. Every case that does not rouse our anger. Let the *Maine* blow up and we fight. A treaty with an elastic exception like this is a farcical sham and a delusion.

It is high time the true and humiliating significance of these fearsome phrases should be as familiar to every taxpayer as is the burden of bristling camps and restless navies. Read the record of Great Britain's first offer of unlimited arbitration in the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of 1897. There, too, you will find national honor and vital interests clogging the machinery of universal peace. By these same exceptions the Senate emasculated that treaty and defeated the spirit of the agreement. Is it conceivable that the Senate actually feared that our interests would be imperiled by that treaty? Did it delve out some hidden dangers which escaped the careful scrutiny of both the English and American embassies, some peril unforeseen by the keen judicial mind of President Cleveland, who characterized the defeat of the treaty as "the greatest grief" of his administration?

But this is not all. The American representatives at both Hague Conferences were the first to place these same limitations on all arbitration proposals.

Look at it from what point of view you will, our government's conduct must appear humiliating. Considering the fact that

universal arbitration treaties have proved practical, it is well-nigh incredible. Behold our bellicose sister American republics. Argentina and Chile, Brazil and Argentina, Bolivia and Peru, all have agreements for the arbitration of all questions whatsoever. All the Central American republics are bound by treaty to decide every difference of whatever nature in the Central American Court of Justice. Denmark's three treaties with Italy, Portugal, and the Netherlands withhold no cause, however vital, from reason's peaceful sway. Norway and Sweden likewise have an agreement to abide by the decision of the Hague Court in whatever disputes may occur. The very existence of all these treaties is significant, yet even more significant is the fact that they have been triumphantly tested. Norway and Sweden at one extremity of the globe and Argentina and Chile at the other have thus quietly settled disputes in which their honor and interests were seriously involved.

Do you ask further evidence of the hypocrisy with which our Senate parades our national honor and our vital interests to the undoing of a grand work? Search our history and you will find it in abundance. In the great case of the Alabama claims, Charles Francis Adams pronounced the construction of Confederate ships in English ports to be a violation of the international law of neutrality. This certainly was a question of national honor and vital interests, yet he pleaded for arbitration. In reply Lord John Russell said, "That is a question of honor which we will never arbitrate, for England's honor cannot be made the subject of arbitration." The case was debated for six years. Then came England's "Grand Old Man," the mighty Gladstone, with a different view. "It is to the interest," he said, "not only of England and the United States, but of the world, peaceably to settle those claims." He submitted them to a joint high commission. England lost and paid. Thus the honor of both nations was successfully arbitrated. Likewise the Newfoundland fisheries case had been a bone of contention between Great Britain and America from the day our independence was recognized. As late as 1887 it threatened to become the cause of war. No question ever arose which more vitally affected the interests of America, yet the Senate recently accepted a settlement by arbitration. Similarly, the Alaska fur seal dispute, the Alaskan and the Venezuelan boundary disputes, and the northeast boundary controversy all involved both the vital interests and the national honor of England and America, yet all were satisfactorily and permanently arbitrated. So

excited were we over our northwest boundary that the principal issue of a political campaign was "The whole of Oregon or none! Fifty-four forty or fight!" Yet we peaceably acquiesced in a treaty that gave us neither.

Yes, our honor may be arbitrated. If we are ill-prepared for war, we arbitrate. If we are sure of a favorable award, we arbitrate. But we must have a loophole, an ever-ready escape from obligation. Posing as the most enlightened nation on the face of the globe, we refuse entirely to displace those medieval notions according to which personal honor found its best protection in the dueling pistol, and national honor its only vindication in slaughter and devastation. To unlimited arbitration we refuse to submit.

Fifteen years ago England, the mighty England, gave us her pledge that no cause should ever justify war. This pledge our Senate in the name of honor refused. Unlimited arbitration agreements were suggested at both Hague Conferences. Americans promptly placed restrictions upon them in the name of honor. Again has England with enthusiasm just offered us unrestricted arbitration. Again she is repulsed by our Senate in the name of honor. France, too, bears to our doors an unqualified pledge of arbitration. France, too, is repulsed by our Senate in the name of honor. Germany and Japan express a desire to settle every question at the bar of justice. Impelled by honor we pass their desire unheeded. Our Clevelands, our Olneys, our Edward Everett Hales, our Carl Schurzes, our John Hays, have all urged unlimited arbitration. Our Davises and Clarks and Platts and Quays in Senate seats have undone their work in the name of honor. Our Charles Eliots and Nicholas Butlers, our Albert Shaws and Hamilton Holts, now plead for universal peace through unlimited arbitration. Senators Bacon and Lodge and Heyburn and Hitchcock, apparently impelled by constitutional prerogative, party prejudice, or personal animosity, now cast their votes for limitations in the name of honor. From the platform of peace conferences, from the halls of colleges, from the pulpit and the bench, from the offices of bankers and merchants and manufacturers, from the press, with scarcely a column's exception, there arises a swelling plea for treaties of arbitration that know no exceptions. In the name of honor that plea is defied.

Honor? No, an ocean of exception large enough to float any number of battleships for which pride and ambition may be willing to pay! Honor? No, a finical and foolish reservation that at any

moment may become a maelstrom of suspicion and rage and hatred and destruction and death! Honor? No, a mountainous barrier to peace that must be leveled before there can be progress! Honor? No, the incarnation of selfishness, the cloak of shrewd politics, the mask of false patriotism! National honor? No, national dishonor!

Before the nations of the world the United States stands to-day in an unenviable light. It is a false light. Since the days of William Penn and Benjamin Franklin our people have led in much of the march upward from the slough of weltering strife. Many a stumbling block to progress we have removed from the rugged pathway, but for fifteen years our government has refused to touch the barrier of national honor and vital interests. England and France have now laid this duty squarely at our door. "It is a social obligation as imperative as the law of Moses, as full of hope as the Great Physician's healing touch." Let us here highly resolve that there shall be uttered a new official interpretation of national honor and vital interests, an interpretation synonymous with dignity and fidelity, sincerity, and integrity, and confidence in the vows both of men and of nations. "If we have 'faith in the right as God gives us to see the right,' we shall catch a vision of opportunity that shall fire the soul with a spirit of service which the darkness of night shall not arrest, which the course of the day shall not weary."

NOTE.—The orations upon "National Honor and Peace" and "National Honor and Vital Interests," published in the present pamphlet, are two of the fifteen Prize Orations of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, published together in a little volume by the World Peace Foundation. A complete list of the orations included in this noteworthy collection is given on another page, and the range and interest of these subjects will deeply impress all readers with the immense importance of the work now being done by our college and university students in this great field. The two orations republished in this pamphlet are chosen for this special purpose because they present two different treatments of essentially the same important subject. The Intercollegiate Peace Association is only ten years old; but its history, the deep interest which it has aroused in multitudes of college students, the remarkable excellence of the hundreds of essays which they have prepared, and the broad expansion of the work which we are now witnessing, constitute one of the most promising factors in the whole movement of peace education at this time. It is from our colleges and universities that our leaders of public opinion, our statesmen and scholars, our lawyers and editors, our preachers and teachers, most largely come; and the present impressive growth of devotion to the peace cause among students is something to be profoundly grateful for. All who have that high cause at heart are urged to read and widely circulate the volume prepared by the Intercollegiate Peace Association.

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World Peace Foundation
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THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

BY

VICTOR HUGO

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40 Mt. Vernon Street Boston, Mass.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS, PARIS, AUGUST 22, 1849

By Victor Hugo

Gentlemen:—Many of you have come from the most distant points of the globe, your hearts full of holy and religious feelings. You count in your ranks men of letters, philosophers, ministers of the Christian religion, writers of eminence, and public men justly popular for their talents. You, gentlemen, have wished to adopt Paris as the center of this meeting, whose sympathies, full of gravity and conviction, do not merely apply to one nation, but to the whole world. You come to add another principle of a still superior—of a more august kind—to those that now direct statesmen, rulers, and legislators. You turn over, as it were, the last page of the Gospel—that page which imposes peace on the children of the same God; and in this capital, which has as yet only decreed fraternity among citizens, you are about to proclaim the brotherhood of mankind.

Gentlemen, we bid you a hearty welcome! In the presence of such a thought and such an act, there can be no room for the expression of personal thanks. Permit me, then, in the first words which I pronounce in your hearing, to raise my thoughts higher than myself, and, as it were, to omit all mention of the great honor which you have just conferred upon me, in order that I may think of nothing else than the great thing which we have met to do.

Gentlemen, this sacred idea, universal peace, all nations bound together in a common bond, the Gospel for their supreme law, mediation substituted for war—this holy sentiment, I ask you, is it practicable? Can it be realized? Many practical men, many public men grown old in the management of affairs, answer in the negative. But I answer with you, and I answer without hesitation, Yes! and I shall shortly try to prove it to you. I go still further. I do not merely say it is capable of being put into practice, but I add that it is inevitable, and that its execution is only a question of time, and may be hastened or retarded. The law which rules the world is not, cannot be different from the law of God. But the divine law is not

one of war—it is peace. Men commenced by conflict, as the creation did by chaos. Whence are they coming? From wars—that is evident. But whither are they going? To peace—that is equally evident. When you enunciate those sublime truths, it is not to be wondered at that your assertion should be met by a negative; it is easy to understand that your faith will be encountered by incredulity; it is evident that in this period of trouble and of dissension the idea of universal peace must surprise and shock, almost like the apparition of something impossible and ideal; it is quite clear that all will call it utopian; but for me, who am but an obscure laborer in this great work of the nineteenth century, I accept this opposition without being astonished or discouraged by it. Is it possible that you can do otherwise than turn aside your head and shut your eyes, as if in bewilderment, when in the midst of the darkness which still envelopes you, you suddenly open the door that lets in the light of the future?

Gentlemen, if four centuries ago, at the period when war was made by one district against the other, between cities, and between provinces—if, I say, some one had dared to predict to Lorraine, to Picardy, to Normandy, to Brittany, to Auvergne, to Provence, to Dauphiny, to Burgundy,—"A day shall come when you will no longer make wars—a day shall come when you will no longer arm men one against the other—a day shall come when it will no longer be said that the Normans are attacking the Picards, or that the people of Lorraine are repulsing the Burgundians:—you will still have many disputes to settle, interests to contend for, difficulties to resolve; but do you know what you will substitute instead of armed men, instead of cavalry and infantry, of cannon, of falconets, lances, pikes and swords:—you will select, instead of all this destructive array, a small box of wood, which you will term a ballot-box, and from which shall issue—what?—an assembly—an assembly in which you shall all live—an assembly which shall be, as it were, the soul of all—a supreme and popular council, which shall decide, judge, resolve everything—which shall make the sword fall from every hand, and excite the love of justice in every heart—which shall say to each, 'Here terminates your right, there commences your duty: lay down your arms! Live in peace!' And in that day you will all have one common thought, common interests, a common destiny; you will embrace each other, and recognize each other as children of the same blood, and of the same race; that day you will no longer be hostile tribes,—you will be a people; you will no longer be

Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, or Provence,—you will be France! You will no longer make appeals to war—you will do so to civilization." If, at the period I speak of, some one had uttered these words, all men of a serious and positive character, all prudent and cautious men, all the great politicians of the period, would have cried out, "What a dreamer! what a fantastic dream! How little this pretended prophet is acquainted with the human heart! What ridiculous folly! what an absurd chimera!" Yet, gentlemen, time has gone on and on, and we find that this dream, this folly, this absurdity, has been realized! And I insist upon this, that the man who would have dared to utter so sublime a prophecy would have been pronounced a madman for having dared to pry into the designs of the Deity. Well, then, you at this moment say—and I say it with you—we who are assembled here, say to France, to England, to Prussia, to Austria, to Spain, to Italy, to Russia—we say to them, "A day will come when from your hands also the arms you have grasped will fall. A day will come when war will appear as absurd, and be as impossible, between Paris and London, between St. Petersburg and Berlin, between Vienna and Turin, as it would be now between Rouen and Amiens, between Boston and Philadelphia. A day will come when you, France—you, Russia—you, Italy—you, England—you, Germany—all of you, nations of the Continent, will, without losing your distinctive qualities and your glorious individuality, be blended into a superior unity, and constitute a European fraternity, just as Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace,[1] have been blended into France. A day will come when the only battle-field will be the market open to commerce and the mind opening to new ideas. A day will come when bullets and bombshells will be replaced by votes, by the universal suffrage of nations, by the venerable arbitration of a great Sovereign Senate, which will be to Europe what the Parliament is to England, what the Diet is to Germany, what the Legislative Assembly is to France. A day will come when a cannon will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be astonished how such a thing could have been. A day will come when those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, shall be seen placed in presence of each other, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean, exchanging their

[1] The address was written twenty-two years before Alsace and Lorraine became a German crown land by the Treaty of Frankfort.

produce, their commerce, their industry, their arts, their genius, clearing the earth, peopling the deserts, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God." Nor is it necessary that four hundred years should pass away for that day to come. We live in a rapid period, in the most impetuous current of events and ideas which has ever borne away humanity; and at the period in which we live, a year suffices to do the work of a century.

But, French, English, Germans, Russians, Slavs, Europeans, Americans, what have we to do in order to hasten the advent of that great day? We must love each other! To love each other is, in this immense labor of pacification, the best manner of aiding God! God desires that this sublime object should be accomplished. And to arrive at it you are yourselves witnesses of what the Deity is doing on all sides. See what discoveries are every day issuing from human genius—discoveries which all tend to the same object —Peace! What immense progress! What simplification! How Nature is allowing herself to be more and more subjugated by man! How matter every day becomes still more the handmaid of intellect, and the auxiliary of civilization! How the causes of war vanish with the causes of suffering! How people far separated from each other so lately, now almost touch! How distances become less and less; and this rapid approach, what is it but the commencement of fraternity? Thanks to railroads, Europe will soon be no larger than France was in the middle ages. Thanks to steamships, we now traverse the mighty ocean more easily than the Mediterranean was formerly crossed. Before long, men will traverse the earth, as the gods of Homer did the sky, in three paces! But yet a little time, and the electric wire of concord shall encircle the globe and embrace the world. And here, gentlemen, when I contemplate this vast amount of efforts and of events, all of them marked by the finger of God—when I regard this sublime object, the well-being of mankind—peace,—when I reflect on all that Providence has done in favor of it, and human policy against it, a sad and bitter thought presents itself to my mind. It results, from a comparison of statistical accounts, that the nations of Europe expend each year for the maintenance of armies a sum amounting to two thousand millions of francs, and which, by adding the expense of maintaining establishments of war, amounts to three thousand millions. Add to this the

lost produce of the days of work of more than 2,000,000 men—the healthiest, the most vigorous, the youngest, the élite of our population —a produce which you will not estimate at less than one thousand millions, and you will be convinced that the standing armies of Europe cost annually more than four thousand millions.

Gentlemen, peace has now lasted thirty-two years, and yet in thirty-two years the enormous sum of 128,000,000 has been expended during a time of peace on account of war![2] Suppose that the people of Europe, in place of mistrusting each other, entertaining jealousy of each other, hating each other, had become fast friends—suppose they had said, that before they were French, or English, or German, they were men, and that if nations form countries, the human race forms a family; and that enormous sum of 128,000,000, so madly and so vainly spent in consequence of such mistrust, let it be spent in acts of mutual confidence—these 128,000,000 that have been lavished on hatred, let them be bestowed on love—let them be given to peace, instead of war—give them to labor, to intelligence, to industry, to commerce, to navigation, to agriculture, to science, to art; and then draw your conclusions. If for the last thirty-two years this enormous sum had been expended in this manner, America in the meantime aiding Europe, know you what would have happened? The face of the world would have been changed. Isthmuses would be cut through, channels formed for rivers, tunnels bored through mountains. Railroads would cover the two continents; the merchant navy of the globe would have increased a hundred-fold. There would be nowhere barren plains, nor moors, nor marshes. Cities would be found where there are now only deserts. Ports would be sunk where there are now only rocks. Asia would be rescued to civilization; Africa would be rescued to man; abundance would gush forth on every side, from every vein of the earth, at the touch of man, like the living stream from the rock beneath the rod of Moses. Misery would be no longer found; and with misery, what do you think would disappear? Revolutions. Yes, the face of the world would be changed! In place of mutually destroying each other, men would pacifically extend themselves over the earth. In place of conspiring for revolution, men would combine to establish colonies! In place of introducing barbarism into civilization, civilization would replace barbarism.

[2] Victor Hugo was speaking in 1849. His reference was undoubtedly to France. The world's armament bill for the year 1845 was about $560,000,000. To-day it is nearly five times that. See table in this pamphlet giving statistics for 1912–13.

You see, gentlemen, in what a state of blindness war has placed nations and rulers. If the 128,000,000 given for the last thirty-two years by Europe to the war which was not waged had been given to the peace which existed, we positively declare that nothing of what is now passing in Europe would have occurred. The Continent in place of being a battle-field would have become a universal workshop, and in place of this sad and terrible spectacle of Piedmont prostrated, of the Eternal City given up to the miserable oscillations of human policy, of Venice and noble Hungary struggling heroically, France uneasy, impoverished, and gloomy; misery, mourning, civil war, gloom in the future—in place, I say, of so sad a spectacle, we should have before our eyes hope, joy, benevolence, the efforts of all toward the common good, and we should everywhere behold the majestic ray of universal concord issue forth from civilization. And this fact is worthy of meditation—that revolutions have been owing to those very precautions against war. All has been done—all this expenditure has been incurred, against an imaginary danger. Misery, which was the only real danger, has by these very means been augmented. We have been fortifying ourselves against a chimerical peril; our eyes have been turned to all sides except to the one where the black spot was visible. We have been looking out for wars when there were none, and we have not seen the revolutions that were coming on. Yet, gentlemen, let us not despair. Let us, on the contrary, hope more enthusiastically than ever. Let us not allow ourselves to be daunted by momentary commotions—convulsions which, peradventure, are necessary for so mighty a production. Let us not be unjust to the time in which we live—let us not look upon it otherwise than as it is. It is a prodigious and admirable epoch after all; and the 19th century will be, I do not hesitate to say, the greatest in the page of history. As I stated a few minutes since, all kinds of progress are being revealed and manifested almost simultaneously, the one producing the other—the cessation of international animosities, the effacing of frontiers on the maps, and of prejudices from the heart—the tendency toward unity, the softening of manners, the advancement of education, the diminution of penalties, the domination of the most literary languages—all are at work at the same time—political economy, science, industry, philosophy, legislation; and all tend to the same object—the creation of happiness and of good will, that is to say—and for my own part, it is the object to which I shall always direct myself—the extinction of

misery at home, and the extinction of war abroad. Yes, the period of revolutions is drawing to a close—the era of improvements is beginning. The education of people is no longer of the violent kind; it is now assuming a peaceful nature. The time has come when Providence is about to substitute for the disorderly action of the agitator the religious and quiet energy of the peacemaker. Henceforth the object of all great and true policy will be this—to cause all nationalities to be recognized, to restore the historic unity of nations, and enlist this unity in the cause of civilization by means of peace—to enlarge the sphere of civilization, to set a good example to people who are still in a state of barbarism—to substitute the system of arbitration for that of battles—and, in a word—and all is comprised in this—to make justice pronounce the last word that the old world used to pronounce by force.

Gentlemen, I say in conclusion, and let us be encouraged by this thought, mankind has not entered on this providential course to-day for the first time. In our ancient Europe, England took the first step, and by her example declared to the people "You are free!" France took the second step, and announced to the people "You are sovereigns!" Let us now take the third step, and all simultaneously, France, England, Germany, Italy, Europe, America—let us proclaim to all nations "You are brethren!"

THE MAP OF EUROPE

BY JOSEPH MAZZINI

Bad governments have disfigured the design of God, which you may see clearly marked out, as far, at least, as regards Europe, by the courses of the great rivers, by the lines of the lofty mountains, and by other geographical conditions; they have disfigured it by conquest, by greed, by jealousy of the just sovereignty of others; disfigured it so much that to-day there is perhaps no nation, except England and France, whose confines correspond to this design. They did not, and they do not, recognize any country except their own families and dynasties, the egoism of caste. But the divine design will infallibly be fulfilled. Natural divisions, the innate spontaneous tendencies of the peoples, will replace the arbitrary divisions sanctioned by bad governments.

The map of Europe will be remade. The Countries of the People

will rise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the Countries of Kings and privileged castes. Between these countries there will be harmony and brotherhood. And then the work of Humanity for the general amelioration, for the discovery and application of the real law of life, carried on in association and distributed according to local capacities, will be accomplished by peaceful and progressive development.

The cause of peace is not the cause of cowardice. If peace is sought to be defended or preserved for the safety of the luxurious and the timid, it is a sham, and the peace will be base. War is better, and the peace will be broken. If peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle, but who have gone one step beyond the hero, and will not seek another man's life; men who have, by their intellectual insight, or else by their moral elevation, attained such a perception of their own intrinsic worth, that they do not think property or their own body a sufficient good to be saved by such dereliction of principle as treating a man like a sheep. If the rising generation can be provoked to think it unworthy to nestle into every abomination of the past, and shall feel the generous darings of austerity and virtue, then war has a short day. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the blessings of mankind. . . . In this broad America of God and man, where the forest is only now falling, and the green earth opens to the inundation of emigrant men from all quarters of oppression and guilt,—here, where not a family, not a few men, but mankind, shall say what shall be,—here, we ask, Shall it be War, or shall it be Peace?—*From Emerson's Essay on War.*

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.—*Longfellow.*

THE WORLD'S ANNUAL ARMAMENT BILL IN TIME OF PEACE

From "The Drain of Armaments."

Country	Fiscal Year	Expended for Army	Expended for Navy	Total Military Charge
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE				
Austria-Hungary	1913	[1] $115,381,000	$15,176,000	$130,557,000
Belgium	1912	13,119,000		13,119,000
[2] Bulgaria	1912	7,817,000		7,817,000
Denmark	1912–13	5,337,000	3,013,000	8,350,000
France	1912	[1] 177,656,000	81,693,000	259,349,000
Germany	1912–13	201,003,000	111,964,000	312,967,000
Great Britain	1911–12	134,850,000	216,194,000	351,044,000
[2] Greece	1912	4,155,000	1,699,000	5,854,000
Italy	1912–13	[1] 83,284,000	41,859,000	125,143,000
Netherlands	1913	13,412,000	8,092,000	21,504,000
Norway	1911–12	4,063,000	1,539,000	5,602,000
Portugal	1910–11	9,279,000	4,317,000	13,596,000
Rumania	1912–13	14,365,000		14,365,000
Russia	1912	289,911,000	81,960,000	371,871,000
[2] Servia	1912	5,699,000		5,699,000
Spain	1912	[1] 36,353,000	13,546,000	49,899,000
Sweden	1913	14,884,000	7,032,000	21,916,000
Switzerland	1912	8,516,000		8,516,000
Turkey	1912–13	39,374,000	5,614,000	44,988,000
Total (Great Britain and the Continent)		$1,178,458,000	$593,698,000	**$1,772,156,000**
UNITED STATES	1911–12	[3] $107,787,000	$136,390,000	**$244,177,000**
JAPAN	1912–13	47,066,000	46,510,000	**93,576,000**
BRITISH INDIA	1911–12	101,409,000		**101,409,000**
MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA				
Argentina	1912	$12,232,000	$11,856,000	$24,088,000
Brazil	1912	25,425,000	14,969,000	40,394,000
Chile	1912	12,164,000	11,416,000	23,580,000
Colombia	1913			2,661,000
Ecuador	1910			2,031,000
Mexico	1912–13	Army and Navy		10,790,000
Peru	1911	not differentiated		2,425,000
Uruguay	1910–11			4,946,000
Venezuela	1912–13			1,834,000
Total (Mexico and South America)				**$112,749,000**
WORLD TOTAL				**$2,324,067,000**

[1] Including Austrian Landwehr and Hungarian Honved (Honved -1912), French Gendarmes, Italian Carabinieri, Spanish Guarda Civil and Carabineros.

[2] These expenditures are the normal peace expenditures only. The cost of the Balkan War was met by special appropriations.

[3] This excludes civil expenditures charged to War Department ($43,262,000). United States Treasurer's statement shows a total of $151,049,000.

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COMPILED BY

DENYS P. MYERS

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WORK OF THE PEACE CONFERENCES AND THE PERMANENT TRIBUNAL

At the weekly reception to diplomatic representatives by Count Muravev, the Russian foreign minister, at St. Petersburg (now Petrograd), on August 24, 1898, the count handed to ambassadors and ministers a rescript from the Emperor, which said: "The maintenance of general peace, and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations, present themselves in the existing condition of the whole world as the ideal toward which the endeavors of all Governments should be directed."

After detailing the "calamities which are threatening the whole world," the rescript, written by the late Frederic de Martens and presented by Count Muravev, continued: "His Majesty has been pleased to order me to propose to all the Governments whose representatives are accredited to the Imperial Court, the meeting of a conference which would have to occupy itself with this grave problem."

The proposal met with a general response, and on January 11, 1899, Count Muravev issued another circular note, in which he stated that "the Imperial Cabinet has been able to collect with lively satisfaction evidence of the warmest approval which has reached it, and continues to be received, from all classes of society in various parts of the globe." He proposed the following program for the conference:

1. An understanding stipulating the non-augmentation for a term to be agreed upon, of the present effective armed land and sea forces, as well as the war budgets pertaining to them; preliminary study of the ways in which even a reduction of the aforesaid effectives and budgets could be realized in the future.

2. Interdiction of the employment in armies and fleets of new firearms of every description and of new explosives, as well as powder more powerful than the kinds used at present, both for guns and cannons.

3. Limitation of the use in field fighting of explosives of a formidable power, such as now in use, and prohibition of the discharge of any kind of projectiles or explosives from balloons or by similar means.

4. Prohibition of the use in naval battles of submarine or diving torpedo boats, or of other engines of destruction of the same nature; agreement not to construct in the future warships armed with rams.

5. Adaptation to naval war of the stipulation of the Geneva Convention of 1864, on the base of the additional articles of 1868.

6. Neutralization, for the same reason, of boats or launches employed in the rescue of the shipwrecked during or after naval battles.

7. Revision of the declaration concerning the laws and customs of war elaborated in 1874 by the Conference of Brussels, and not yet ratified.

8. Acceptance, in principle, of the use of good offices, mediation, and voluntary arbitration, in cases where they are available, with the purpose of preventing

armed conflicts between nations; understanding in relation to their mode of application and establishment of a uniform practice in employing them.

The Hague was selected as the meeting place of the Conference, and on May 18, 1899, in the Royal House in the Wood, there convened the delegates of 26 powers, to carry out the program. The countries represented were Germany, United States, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Montenegro, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland and Turkey.

The conference continued its sessions until July 29, on which date a final act and the documents indicated on the accompanying table of "Ratification of 1899 Conventions," were signed as the result of the deliberations.

Little that was distinctly new in international affairs is to be found in these documents, which established in a formal way much that had been tried frequently and successfully, though casually, in practical international affairs. In general, the conventions were the codification of law already existing; but, particularly in the case of means for the pacific settlement of international disputes, the necessary machinery for the practical use of mediation, commissions of inquiry and arbitration was provided. The First Hague Conference made the employment of methods already known simple and practical.

THE SECOND CONFERENCE

No provision was made in 1899 for a second conference except the voting of a wish that the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of Sick and Wounded might be revised at a special conference, and the expression of other wishes which might be referred to "a subsequent conference." At St. Louis in 1904 the annual meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, composed of members of the majority of the parliaments of the powers, passed a resolution requesting "the President of the United States to invite all the nations to send representatives to such a second conference." Secretary of State John Hay issued the proposal on instructions from President Roosevelt in a circular note of October 21, 1904, addressed to the participants in the First Conference. The Peace of Portsmouth closing the Russo-Japanese War was signed on September 5, 1905; and since there was a feeling in some quarters that the Russian Emperor as the initiator of the First Conference should take the lead

in respect to the second, on September 13, 1905, the formal Russian proposal was made. The test which the recent war had given to the provisions of the military conventions had indicated numerous points at which they might be improved and suggested other points on which it was desirable to have agreement. The Russian Government concerned itself with preparing a program and proceeded to invite all sovereign countries to the conference. The program was issued by Russia in a circular note of April 12, 1906, as follows:

1. Improvements to be made in the provisions of the convention relative to the peaceful settlement of international disputes as regards the Court of Arbitration and the international commissions of inquiry.

2. Additions to be made to the provisions of the Convention of 1899 relative to the laws and customs of war on land—among others, those concerning the opening of hostilities, the rights of neutrals on land, etc. Declarations of 1899. One of these having expired, question of its being revived.

3. Framing of a convention relative to the laws and customs of maritime warfare, concerning—

The special operations of maritime warfare, such as the bombardment of ports, cities, and villages by a naval force; the laying of torpedoes, etc.

The transformation of merchant vessels into warships.

The private property of belligerents at sea.

The length of time to be granted to merchant ships for their departure from ports of neutrals or of the enemy after the opening of hostilities.

The rights and duties of neutrals at sea; among others, the questions of contraband, the rules applicable to belligerent vessels in neutral ports; destruction, in cases of *vis major*, of neutral merchant vessels captured as prizes.

In the said convention to be drafted, there would be introduced the provisions relative to war on land that would be also applicable to maritime warfare.

4. Additions to be made to the Convention of 1899 for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864.

The opening session of the Second Conference was held in the Hall of the Knights, at The Hague, on June 15, 1907, and the Conference adjourned on October 18. The larger number of States concerned, the larger amount of business transacted, and the more controversial character of the problems met and solved, amply justified the greater length of the Conference. All the sovereign governments of the world participated, with the exception of Abyssinia, Costa Rica, and Honduras, 44 in all.

The holding of the First Conference had crystallized the ideas of publicists upon questions of international law capable of reduction to definite rules. The Second Conference was characterized by its practical attack upon international problems and by the extent of its accomplishments. The Conventions signed are indicated on the accompanying table of "Ratification of 1907 Conventions."

PEACE RESULTS

The greater bulk of the international statute law written at The Hague has dealt with the prospect of war or its conduct. This is not surprising, since that abnormal condition of the modern state must, by reason of its abnormality, be more clearly limited and defined than the condition of peace, in which problems are far more diverse and usually not of equally critical character. The Third Conference—if it takes place under conditions similar to its predecessors and is not superseded by a closer international federative body—will inevitably make additions to the statute law of war, and for the first time will probably take long steps toward codifying the regulation of peaceful relations between nations.

It is the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes which has been most in the public eye and by which the work at The Hague has been publicly judged. This Convention consists of four constructive parts relating to the maintenance of general peace, good offices and mediation, international commissions of inquiry, and international arbitration. The extent to which these methods have been used is the test of the Convention. The first part is declaratory that "the contracting powers agree to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences." The part referring to good offices and mediation relates to the proffering of assistance by a third party respecting differences between two states. It is provided that "the exercise of this right can never be regarded by either of the parties in dispute as an unfriendly act." The provisions of this part have found their application since 1899 in many instances of international strained feeling. The mediation of the United States in Central and South America has several times resulted in smoothing over serious difficulties; and at a more recent period the European powers were acting as mediators under this convention throughout almost the whole course of the Turko-Italian War and throughout all of the Turko-Balkan and Inter-Balkan conflicts. It is generally accepted in diplomatic circles that this mediation facilitated peace negotiations and hastened their conclusion. The success of mediation by Brazil, Argentina, and Chile in the Mexican difficulty in the spring of 1914, saving the United States from a threatened war, is perhaps in itself a complete justification of this part of the Convention. The European war came

about only after the failure of several mediation proposals and had hardly begun before President Wilson had tendered his good offices.

The part referring to international commissions of inquiry was intended to set up machinery "to facilitate a solution of disputes by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation." It is not intended to pass on the quality of facts and actions, but simply to determine what actually occurred. Twice this machinery has been availed of, both times successfully. The cases are tabulated in an accompanying table, the historical details being as follows:

1. The Russian fleet, Admiral Rozhdestvensky, on the way to the Far East, suspected the presence of Japanese war vessels in the North Sea and on October 22, 1904, fired by mistake on the English fleet of Hull trawler fishermen. Two men were killed, six wounded, the *Crane* sunk and five trawlers damaged. On November 25, 1904, it was agreed to refer the incident to a commission for report. The commission met at Paris and in February, 1905, the report was made. As a result of the facts established by it, Russia voluntarily paid to Great Britain about $300,000 as damages.

2. On January 25, 1912, during the Turko-Italian War, the French steamer *Tavignano* was seized by the Italian torpedo boat *Fulmine* in the roads of Raz Zira. On the same day and in the same roads the Italian torpedo boat *Canopo* fired on the Tunisian mahones *Kamouna* and *Gaulois*. Accounts of the circumstances surrounding these incidents were so at variance that France and Italy could reach no decision upon them and by agreement of April 15, 1912, the incidents were referred to a commission for investigation and report. The commission reported on July 23, 1912, and the report was accepted. It had been provided by the agreement of April 15 that the questions of law arising from the report should be submitted to arbitration, if necessary. The report on the facts gave rise to such questions, and the final solution of the equities involved was accordingly referred to the Hague Court of Arbitration by compromis of November 8, 1912, becoming the fourteenth case of the court.

The part of the Convention referring to international arbitration is the one most generally known. It provides for arbitration at The Hague, establishes technical rules therefor, provides a bureau corresponding to the familiar office of clerk of court, and lays down general rules for the selection of judges. Choice of arbitrators is now rather clumsy, and the American project for a Judicial Arbitral Court

brought up at the Second Conference was designed to remedy this by providing a court holding regular sessions. At present "each contracting power selects four persons at the most, of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrator." These persons form the so-called Permanent Court, in reality a panel of judges. When states have a question to arbitrate the arbitrators are chosen from the list of this panel, three or five members being named by a method previously agreed upon. One is designated president, and the court so constituted hears the case and renders the decision. The court was declared formed by a note of the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs of April 9, 1901, a little more than thirteen years ago. From that date to May 22, 1902, it awaited business. From then until the present time business has always been pending before the court in some stage, except the period from August 8, 1905, to March 14, 1908.

An accompanying table shows the details of the cases heard by the court, but as that table is official it does not indicate the results. It is therefore of interest to state the character of the awards:

1. United States *vs.* Mexico regarding Pious funds of the Californias; decision rendered, October 14, 1902; award of $1,420,682.67 (Mexican) to United States.

2. Germany, Great Britain and Italy *vs.* Venezuela (Belgium, Spain, United States, France, Mexico, Netherlands, and Sweden and Norway associated with defendant) regarding right of preference claimed by blockading powers; decision rendered, February 22, 1904; award favored plaintiffs' right of preference for payment of claims as being blockading powers.

3. Germany, France and Great Britain *vs.* Japan regarding perpetual leases in Japan; decision rendered, May 22, 1905; favorable to plaintiffs, who secured exemption from taxation of structures on perpetually leased land.

4. France *vs.* Great Britain regarding dhows of Mascat; decision rendered, August 8, 1905; held that only Mascat natives enjoying French protection by treaty were entitled to fly the French flag.

5. Germany *vs.* France regarding deserters of Casablanca; decision rendered, May 22, 1909; held, in detail, that German consular officers erroneously aided deserters from the French Foreign Legion and that French military authorities erroneously failed to respect the protection granted to the deserters.

6. Norway *vs.* Sweden regarding maritime frontier; decision rendered, October 23, 1909; boundary line traced by the Court.

7. United States *vs.* Great Britain regarding North Atlantic Coast fisheries; decision rendered, September 7, 1910; decision detailed, equitably apportioning rights of parties under treaty of 1818.

8. United States *vs.* Venezuela regarding claims of the Orinoco Company; decision rendered, October 25, 1910; held that the awards against Venezuela by an umpire were void, that the claims were founded, and, in addition to the sums allowed by the earlier award, allowed the United States sums of $19,200, $1,053, $28,845.20 and $769.22 on the four points reviewed, with interest at 3 per cent.

9. France *vs.* Great Britain regarding the arrest and restitution of Savarkar; decision rendered, February 24, 1911; held that the British Government was not required to restore Savarkar to the French Government, to whose jurisdiction he had escaped from imprisonment on a British ship in a French harbor.

10. Italy *vs.* Peru regarding the claim of Canevaro Brothers; decision rendered, May 3, 1912; held that Peru should pay the Canevaros £39,811 8*s.* 1*d.* in Peruvian bonds on the claim and £9,388 17*s.* 1*d.* in gold as interest from January 1, 1889, to July 31, 1912.

11. Russia *vs.* Turkey regarding arrears of interest claimed for Russian indemnitaries for damages sustained during the war of 1877; decision rendered, November 11, 1912; held that Turkey was not required to pay Russia damages for failing to pay interest on the Russian claims.

12. France *vs.* Italy regarding seizure of the *Manouba;* decision rendered, May 6, 1913; award sustained Italian right of temporary seizure of ship and arrest of Turkish (belligerent) passengers and awarded France 4,000 francs for losses and damages proved.

13. France *vs.* Italy regarding seizure of the *Carthage;* decision rendered May 6, 1913; award denied belligerent's (Italy's) right to seize a mail steamer temporarily and awarded France 160,000 francs for losses and damages proved.

14. France *vs.* Italy regarding seizure of the *Tavignano* and cannon shots fired at the Tunisian mahones *Kamouna* and *Gaulois;* litigants agreed after court convened to settle the affairs directly.

15. Netherlands *vs.* Portugal regarding the Dutch-Portuguese frontiers in the island of Timor; decision rendered, August, 1914; award favored the contention of the Netherlands.

16. Spain, France, and Great Britain *vs.* Portugal regarding seizure of religious property in Portugal; decision pending.

17. Italy *vs.* Austria-Hungary regarding responsibility for loss of two fishing vessels by Austro-Hungarian submarine automatic contact mines defective in mechanism; submission agreed upon.

THE NEXT CONFERENCE

In his instructions to the American delegation, under date of May 31, 1907, Secretary of State Elihu Root wrote:

"In the discussions upon every question it is important to remember that the object of the Conference is agreement, and not compulsion. If such conferences are to be made occasions for trying to force nations into positions which they consider against their interests, the Powers cannot be expected to send representatives to them. It is important also that the agreements reached shall be genuine and not reluctant. The immediate results of such a conference must always be limited to a small part of the field which the more sanguine have hoped to see covered; but each successive conference will make the positions reached in the preceding conference its point of departure, and will bring to the consideration of further advances toward international agreement opinions affected by the acceptance and application of the previous agreements. Each conference will inevitably make further progress, and, by successive steps, results may be accomplished which have formerly appeared impossible.

"You should regard the work of the Second Conference, not merely with reference to the definite results to be reached in that Conference, but also with reference to the foundations which may be laid for further results in future conferences."

Among the wishes or declarations voted by the Second Conference was one in favor of the Judicial Arbitral Court championed by the United States, and one providing for the calling of a Third Conference and the preparation of a program for it. Committees of each country for considering program matters were appointed by Germany, United States, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Norway, Netherlands, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland. The Dominican Republic, Great Britain, Spain, and Panama were taking measures to establish committees in May, 1914. On the initiative of the government of the Netherlands negotiations were begun with Russia for the

appointment of the international committee provided for by the Second Hague Conference and which is destined to pass upon the matters advised by the system of national committees. In addition, the United States proposed that the Administrative Council of the Hague Court, consisting of the diplomatic corps accredited to The Hague, should be constituted as the international committee. Bolivia, Guatemala and Siam supported this proposal. On July 2, 1914, the Dutch Government sent an invitation to the nations which participated in the Second Conference to appoint delegates to the committee to formulate a definite program for the third and suggested that the committee assemble at The Hague on June 1, 1915. As a result of the outbreak of the European war in August, 1914, all plans for the international committee were suspended, but it is understood that national committees are completing their work.

Business contemplated for that Conference is the further development of international arbitral machinery, the reorganization of the Permanent Tribunal, closer definition of neutral rights in war time, military status of foreigners within a State, the application to maritime warfare of the principles controlling war on land, the establishment of an international prize court and the definition of rules for its action, and perhaps the consolidation of official international activities in peace time. The urgent question of the limitation of armaments should also now receive practical attention.

CASES DECIDED BY THE PERMANENT COURT

(Under Arts. 20–57 (1899) and 41–85 (1907) of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes).

Parties.	Case.	Date of compromis.	First session.	Session of closure.	Number of sessions.[1]	Date of decisions.	Arbitrators.
1 United States of America *v.* United Mexican States.	Pious funds of the Californias.	May 22 1902	Sept. 15 1902	Oct. 1 1902	11	Oct. 14 1902	MATZEN,[2] Sir Edward Fry, Martens, Asser, de Savornin Lohman.
2 Germany, Great Britain and Italy *v.* Venezuela (Belgium, Spain, United States, France, Mexico, Netherlands, and Sweden and Norway).	Right of preference claimed by blockading powers.	May 7 1903	Oct. 1 1903	Nov. 13 1903	14	Feb. 22 1904	MURAVEV, Lammasch, Martens.
3 Germany, France and Great Britain *v.* Japan.	Perpetual leases in Japan.	Aug. 28 1902	Nov. 21 1904	May 15 1905	4	May 22 1905	GRAM, Renault, Motono.
4 France *v.* Great Britain.	Dhows of Mascat.	Oct. 13 1904	July 25 1905	Aug. 2 1905	4	Aug. 8 1905	LAMMASCH, Melvillo W. Fuller, de Savornin Lohman.
5 Germany *v.* France.	Casablanca deserters.	Nov. 10 1908	May 1 1909	May 17 1909	6	May 22 1909	DE HAMMARSKJÖLD, Sir Edward Fry, Fusinato, Kriege, Renault.
6 Norway *v.* Sweden.[3]	Maritime frontier.	Mar. 14 1908	Aug. 28 1909	Oct. 18 1909	13[4]	Oct. 23 1909	LOEFF,[5] Beichmann,[5] Hammarskjöld.
7 United States of America *v.* Great Britain.	North Atlantic fisheries.	Jan. 27 1909	July 1 1910	Aug. 12 1910	41	Sept. 7 1910	LAMMASCH, de Savornin Lohman, George Gray, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Drago.
8 United States of America *v.* Venezuela.	Claims of the "Orinoco" Company.	Feb. 13 1909	Sept. 28 1910	Oct. 19 1910	8	Oct. 25 1910	LAMMASCH, Beernaert, de Quesada.
9 France *v.* Great Britain.	Arrest and restitution of Savarkar.	Oct. 25 1910	Feb. 14 1911	Feb. 17 1911	4	Feb. 24 1911	BEERNAERT, Renault, Lord Desart, Gram, de Savornin Lohman.
10 Italy *v.* Peru.	Canevaro claim.	April 25 1910	April 20 1912	April 22 1912	3	May 3 1912	RENAULT, Fusinato, Calderón.
11 Russia *v.* Turkey.[3]	Arrears of interest claimed for Russian indemnitaries for damages sustained during the war of 1877.	Aug. 4 1910	Feb. 15 1911[6]	Nov. 6 1912	10	Nov. 11 1912	LARDY, Baron de Taube, Mandelstam,[6] Herante Abro Bey,[6] Ahmed Rechid Bey.[6]
12 France *v.* Italy.	Seizure of the *Manouba*.	Mar. 6 1912	Mar. 31 1913	April 26 1913	10	May 6 1913	HAMMARSKJÖLD, Fusinato, Kriege, Renault, Baron de Taube.
13 France *v.* Italy.	Seizure of the *Carthage*.	Mar. 6 1913	Mar. 31 1913	April 26 1913	10	May 6 1913	Same as 12.
14 France *v.* Italy.	Seizure of the *Tavignano* and cannon shots fired at the Tunisian mahones *Kamouna* and *Gaulois*.	Nov. 8 1912	April 26 1913	May 3 1913	—	Litigants agreed to settle the affairs directly	Same as 12.

15 Netherlands *v.* Portugal.	Dutch - Portuguese frontiers in the island of Timor.	April 3 1913	—	—	—	—	LARDY (sole arbitrator).
16[7] Spain, France and Great Britain *v.* Portugal.	Seizure of religious goods in Portugal.	July 31 1913	—	—	—	—	ROOT, de Savornin Lohman, Lardy.

[1] Includes opening session and session at which decision was given. [2] President's name in capitals. [3] Special arbitral tribunal. [4] Excluding visits to other places, July 14–21, 1909. [5] To regulate questions of procedure. [6] Not member of the court. [7] Constituted under the summary procedure provided by Chapter IV.

COMPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Case 17.—Italy and Austria-Hungary will bring the question of indemnity for damage by unanchored mines to Italian shipping before the Hague Court. The mines—30 in number—found in September and October, 1914, were said to bear marks that placed beyond doubt the fact of their manufacture in Austrian arsenals. The Italian Ministry of Marine found itself compelled to bring all mercantile and passenger navigation to a standstill over the area of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Austrian mines are normally fixed to the sea bottom by means of a steel cable terminating in a small anchor, but the drifting mines were claimed not to have any anchor at all. None had its full length of cable, this having been severed with a wire cutter, and all at exactly the same level. On the basis of protests based on these Italian charges a joint inquiry was held in Vienna and Rome after two fishing vessels were destroyed. The decision reached was as follows:

The Austrian Government declares it has taken, and will take in the future, all necessary measures to prevent a recurrence of such unfortunate incidents, and with this object is strengthening the moorings of fixed mines and replacing old mines which have been proved to have been furnished with defective mechanism. Italy agrees that the question of responsibility for the incidents be referred to the Hague Tribunal, which will give a decision at the conclusion of the war. This tribunal will decide whether the convention has been violated, according to which floating mines must become inoperative two hours after release.

No indemnity is to be paid by the Austrian Government to those who suffered as a result of the disasters. Austria offered an indemnity, but it was refused by the Italian Government on the ground that acceptance of such an indemnity was not consistent with Italian dignity.

Navigation in the Adriatic was resumed on October 22.

MATTERS REFERRED TO COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY

(Under Arts. 9–14 (1899) and 9–36 (1907) of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes).

Parties.	Subject.	[1]Date of convention.	Sessions begun.	Report delivered.	Members of Commission.	Settlement.
1 Great Britain and Russia.	North Sea incident, Oct. 21–22, 1904.	Nov. (12) 25, 1904	Dec. 22 1904	Feb. 26 1905	Admirals Spaun, Dubassov, Beaumont, Fournier, Davis.	Russia responsible; paid £60,000 for damages done.
2 France and Italy.	*a.* Seizure of the *Tavignano*, Jan. 25, 1912. *b.* Cannon-shots fired at the Tunisian mahones *Kamouna* and *Gaulois*, Jan. 25, 1912.	April 25 1912 April 25 1912	June 30 1912 —	July 23 1912 July 23 1912	Capt. James Segrave, Capt. Sombron, Capt. Zerli, Lieut. Violette, Count Gravina.	Referred to Hague Court on questions of law and award of damages (14, above).

[1] The convention of reference. The North Sea incident convention was officially called a declaration.

RATIFICATION OF 1899 CONVENTIONS.

(Based on *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1905, 691.)

LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE POWERS IN REGARD TO WHICH THE CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS SIGNED ON JULY 29, 1899, WERE OBLIGATORY.

A.—Powers which have Ratified.

(The dates mentioned indicate the day on which the several acts of ratification were deposited.)

		I. Convention concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes.	II. Convention concerning the laws and customs of war on land.	III. Convention concerning the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864. (Article 10 is excluded from the ratification.)	IV. 1°. Declaration prohibiting the throwing of projectiles from balloons or other analogous means.	IV. 2°. Declaration prohibiting the use of projectiles having as their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases.	IV. 3°. Declaration prohibiting the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body.
1	Germany	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
2	United States [1]	Sept. 4, 1900	April 9, 1902	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	—	—
3	Austria-Hungary	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
4	Belgium	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
5	Bulgaria	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
6	China	Nov. 21, 1904	June 12, 1907 [2]	Nov. 21, 1904	Nov. 21, 1904	Nov. 21, 1904	Nov. 21, 1904
7	Denmark	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
8	Spain	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
9	France	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
10	Great Britain	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	—	Aug. 30, 1907 [2]	Aug. 30, 1907 [2]
11	Greece	April 4, 1901	April 4, 1901	April 4, 1901	April 4, 1901	April 4, 1901	April 4, 1901
12	Italy	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
13	Japan	Oct. 6, 1900	Oct. 6, 1900	Oct. 6, 1900	Oct. 6, 1900	Oct. 6, 1900	Oct. 6, 1900
14	Luxemburg	July 12, 1901	July 12, 1901	July 12, 1901	July 12, 1901	July 12, 1901	July 12, 1901
15	Mexico	April 17, 1901	April 17, 1901	April 17, 1901	April 17, 1901	April 17, 1901	April 17, 1901
16	Montenegro	Oct. 16, 1900	Oct. 16, 1900	Oct. 16, 1900	Oct. 16, 1900	Oct. 16, 1900	Oct. 16, 1900
17	Netherlands	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
18	Persia	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
19	Portugal	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Aug. 29, 1907 [2]
20	Rumania [3]	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4. 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900

21	Russia	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
22	Servia [4]	May 11, 1901	May 11, 1901	May 11, 1901	May 11, 1901	May 11, 1901	May 11, 1901
23	Siam	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
24	Sweden and Norway	Sept. 4, 1900	July 5, 1907	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900	Sept. 4, 1900
25	Switzerland	Dec. 29, 1900	June 20, 1907	Dec. 29, 1900	Dec. 29, 1900	Dec. 29, 1900	Dec. 29, 1900
26	Turkey	June 12, 1907	June 12, 1907	June 12, 1907	S	S	S

B.—Adhering Powers.

(British *Treaty Series* No. 39, 1907. Text of protocol 100 *British and Foreign State Papers*, 276.)

Argentina	June 15, 1907	June 17, 1907	June 17, 1907
Bolivia	June 15, 1907	Feb. 7, 1907	Feb. 7, 1907
Brazil	June 15, 1907	Feb. 25, 1907	Feb. 25, 1907
Chile	June 15, 1907	June 19, 1907	June 19, 1907
Colombia	June 15, 1907	Jan. 30, 1907	Jan. 30, 1907
Cuba	June 15, 1907	April 17, 1907	June 29, 1907
Dominican Republic	June 15, 1907	April 13, 1907	June 29, 1907
Ecuador	July 3, 1907	July 31, 1907	Aug. 5, 1907
Guatemala	June 15, 1907	May 2, 1906	April 6, 1903
Haiti	June 15, 1907	May 24, 1907	June 29, 1907
Honduras	—	Aug. 21, 1906	Aug. 21, 1906
Korea	—	Mar. 17, 1903	Feb. 7, 1903
Nicaragua [5]	June 15, 1907	May 17, 1907	May 17, 1907
Panama	June 15, 1907	July 20, 1907	July 22, 1907
Paraguay	June 15, 1907	April 12, 1907	June 29, 1907
Peru	June 15, 1907	Nov. 24, 1903	Nov. 24, 1903
Salvador	June 20, 1907	June 20, 1902	June 20, 1902
Uruguay	June 17, 1907	June 21, 1906	June 21, 1906
Venezuela	June 15, 1907	Mar. 1, 1907	Mar. 1, 1907

Notes on Adhesions.

The ratification on July 5, 1907, of Convention II by Sweden and Norway, as reported above, was by each individually. In the interval since 1899 these states had separated and become two states.

The ratifying and adhering states reported for the acts of the 1899 Conference are the same as the participants in the Second Conference, with the exception of Korea, which, though not a member of the First Conference, adhered to part of its acts. By 1907 its treaty relations with Japan had divested it of the clear sovereign character necessary for participation in a diplomatic conference.

The following is the official minute of the adhesions reported herewith as appearing in the proceedings of the second plenary session of the Second Hague Conference, June 19, 1907 (*Deuxième Conférence de la Paix. La Haye 1907. Actes et documents.* I, 54):

The President (Mr. Nelidov of Russia) informed the Conference that all the states which had not participated in the Conference of 1899 and had been invited to the present one had signed their adhesion to the Acts of the First Conference.

[1] Under the reservation made at the general meeting of the conference, July 25, 1899.
[2] Adhesions without prior signature.
[3] Under reservation in respect to Articles 16, 17 and 19 of the proposal laid before the Committee of Inquiry, entered in the minutes of the third committee of July 20, 1899.
[4] Under the reservation mentioned in the minutes of the third committee of July 20, 1899.
[5] Nicaragua ratified Declarations 1V, 2 and 3, on Oct. 11, 1907. No. 1 expired in 1904.

RATIFICATION OF 1907 CONVENTIONS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

S = Signature.

Rat. = Ratification, following signature.

Adh. = Adhesion, without previous signature.

R or (R) = Reservation, usually at signing.

		I. Pacific settlement of international disputes.	II. Limitation of the employment of force for the recovery of contract debts.	III. Relative to opening of hostilities.	IV. Laws and customs of war on land.	V. Rights and duties of neutral powers and persons in case of war on land.	VI. Status of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities.	VII. Conversion of merchant ships into warships.	VIII. Laying automatic submarine contact mines.	IX. Bombardment by naval forces in time of war.	X. Adaptation to naval war of the principles of the Geneva Convention.	XI. Certain restrictions with regard to the exercise of the right of capture in naval war.	XII. Creation of an international prize court.	XIII. Rights and duties of neutral powers in naval war.	XIV. Declaration prohibiting the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons.	XV. Final act. (Ratification not required.)
1	Germany (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat. (R)	—	S
2	United States (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.(R)	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.[1]	Adh. (R)	Rat.	S
3	Argentina	S	S R	S	S	S R	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
4	Austria-Hungary (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	S	S
5	Belgium (Aug. 8, 1910)	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	Rat.	S
6	Bolivia (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	S R	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	S	S	Rat.	Rat.	S	S	S	Rat.	S
7	Brazil (Jan. 2, 1914)[2]	Rat.(R)	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	S
8	Bulgaria	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
9	Chile	S R	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S R	S	S	S R	S	—	S
10	China (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Adh.	Adh.	—	Adh.	—	—	—	Adh.	Rat.(R)	—	—	Adh. (R)	Rat.	S
11	Colombia	S	S R	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
12	Cuba (Feb. 22, 1912)	Rat.	S	S	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	S	Rat.	Rat.	S	S R	—	S	S
13	Denmark (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	—	S
14	Dominican Republic	S	S R	S	S	S	S	—	S R	S	S	S	—	S R	S	S
15	Ecuador	S	S R	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S R	S	S	S
16	Spain (March 18, 1913)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Adh.	Rat.	Rat.	S	—	—	S
17	France (Oct. 7, 1910)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	S[3]	Rat.	—	S
18	Great Britain (Nov. 27, 1909)	S	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S R	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.(R)	S R	Rat.	S[4]	S R	Rat.	S
19	Greece	S R	S R	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	—	S	S	S

20	Guatemala (March 15, 1911) . .	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	S
21	Haiti (Feb. 2, 1910)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat. (R)	Rat.	Rat.	S
22	Italy	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	—	S
23	Japan (Dec. 13, 1911)	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.(R)	—	Rat.	—	S
24	Luxemburg (Aug. 28, 1912) . . .	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	S
25	Mexico (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	S
26	Montenegro	S	S	S	S R	S	S	S	—	S	S	—	—	S	—	S
27	Nicaragua (Dec. 16, 1909) . . .	Adh.	Adh.(R)	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	—	Adh.	Adh.	S
28	Norway (Sept. 19, 1910)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	Rat.	S
29	Panama (Aug. 19, 1911)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S
30	Paraguay	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	—	—
31	Netherlands (Nov. 27, 1909) . .	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	Rat.	S
32	Peru	S	S R	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
33	Persia	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S R	S	S R	S R	S	S
34	Portugal (April 13, 1911)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	Rat.	S
35	Rumania (March 1, 1912) . . .	Rat.(R)	Adh.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Rat.	—	S
36	Russia (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	—	—	Rat.	—	S
37	Salvador (Nov. 27, 1909)	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	S
38	Servia	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	—	S	—	S
39	Siam (March 12, 1910)	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.(R)	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat. (R)	Rat.(R)	Rat.	S
40	Sweden (Nov. 27, 1909).	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	—	S
41	Switzerland (May 12, 1910) . . .	Rat.(R)	—	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	Rat.	S	Rat.	Rat.	S R
42	Turkey	S R	S	S	S R	S	S	S R	S R	S	S R	S	S R	S R	S	S
43	Uruguay	S	S R	S	S	S	S	—	S	S	S	S	S R	S	S	S
44	Venezuela	S	—	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	—	S	—	S
	Liberia	—	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	Adh.	—	Adh.	—	Adh.	—	—

[1] Advice and consent of the Senate, April 24, 1912; President has not ratified.
[2] Approved by Congress, December 31, 1910.
[3] The French government transmitted projects of law ratifying this convention to Parliament in March, 1912, but they have not yet been acted upon.
[4] The creation of the International Prize Court, after the closing of the Conference, was conditioned on the codification of maritime law for its guidance. The London Naval Conference made such a codification in the Declaration of London, signed on February 26, 1909. A bill changing British national law so as to enable the government to ratify the Declaration failed in Parliament. Another is to be brought in during the 1913–14 session, the passage of which the government hopes for. Great Britain as the world's principal maritime power is chiefly concerned in the Declaration of London and the International Prize Court. Until its law enables Great Britain to ratify the Declaration, other signatory states do not intend to ratify it. Until the Declaration of London is ratified, the Convention for the Creation of an International Prize Court is in abeyance.

Until the International Prize Court is created, the Knox proposal of October 18, 1909, investing it by agreement with arbitral functions, and the Hague additional protocol of September 19, 1910, relative to form of action, are likewise in abeyance.

During the course of the European war the Declaration of London is the basis on which maritime questions are considered by reason of its excellence as a codification of accepted practice.

ANALYSIS OF 1907 RATIFICATIONS.

By Conventions.

	*Signatures.		*Ratifications		
I.—Pacific settlement of international disputes	43	(8R)	27	(1 adh.)†	(5R)
II.—Limitation of the employment of force for the recovery of contract debts	34	(10R)	21	(4 adh.)	(4R)
III.—Relative to opening of hostilities	42		28	(3 adh.)	
IV.—Laws and customs of war on land	41	(6R)	27	(2 adh.)	(4R)
V.—Rights and duties of neutral powers and persons in case of war on land	42	(2R)	28	(3 adh.)	
VI.—Status of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities	41	(2R)	26	(2 adh.)	(2R)
VII.—Conversion of merchant ships into warships	39	(1R)	25	(2 adh.)	
VIII.—Laying automatic submarine contact mines	37	(6R)	22	(2 adh.)	(4R)
IX.—Bombardment by naval forces in time of war	41	(5R)	29	(4 adh.)	(4R)
X.—Adaptation to naval war of the principles of the Geneva Convention	43	(4R)	27	(1 adh.)	(1R)
XI.—Certain restrictions with regard to the exercise of the right of capture in naval war	40		25	(2 adh.)	
XII.—Creation of an international prize court	32	(10R)	7		(2R)
XIII.—Rights and duties of neutral powers in naval war	39	(7R)	25	(4 adh.)	(6R)
XIV.—Declaration prohibiting the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons	27		16	(1 adh.)	
XV.—Final act	43	(1R)	Not required		
Totals	584	(62R)			
Deducting signatures to Final Act	43	(1R)			
	541	(61R)	333	(31 adh.)	(32R)

By States.

	*Signatures.		*Ratifications.		
Germany	14	(5R)	12		(5R)
United States	12	(1R)	12	(1 adh.)†	(3R)
Argentina	15	(2R)	—		
Austria-Hungary	15	(1R)	12		(1R)
Belgium	14		12		
Bolivia	15	(1R)	7		
Brazil	13	(1R)	12		
Bulgaria	15		—		
Chile	14	(3R)	—		
China	4	(1R)	8	(5 adh.)	(2R)
Colombia	15	(1R)	—		
Cuba	14	(1R)			
Denmark	14		12		
Dominican Republic	13	(3R)	—		
Ecuador	15	(2R)	—		
Spain	10		9	(1 adh.)	
France	14	(2R)	12		(2R)
Great Britain	15	(5R)	9		(2R)
Greece	14	(2R)	—		
Guatemala	14	(2R)	13		(1R)
Haiti	15	(1R)	14		(1R)
Italy	14		—		
Japan	13	(4R)	12		(4R)
Liberia	—		10	(10 adh.)	
Luxemburg	13		12		
Mexico	14		13		
Montenegro	11	(1R)	—		
Nicaragua	1		13	(13 adh.)	(1R)
Norway	15		13		
Panama	15		14		
Paraguay	13		—		
Netherlands	15		13		
Peru	15	(1R)	—		
Persia	15	(3R)	—		
Portugal	14		12		
Rumania	12	(1R)	12	(1 adh.)	(1R)
Russia	11	(2R)	10		(2R)
Salvador	15	(2R)	14		(2R)
Servia	13		—		
Siam	14	(3R)	13		(3R)
Sweden	12		10		
Switzerland	14	(2R)	12		(1R)
Turkey	15	(7R)	—		
Uruguay	14	(2R)	—		
Venezuela	12		—		
Totals	584	(62R)			
Deducting signatures to Final Act (ratification not required)	43	(1R)			
	541	(61R)	333	(31 adh.)	(32R)

* Parenthesized details indicate reservations.

† Adhesions are separately noted, though included in the total.

THE CONVENTIONS AND THE WAR.

The conventions signed in 1907 are not legally binding for the course of the European War by reason of incomplete ratification. Of the belligerents Montenegro, Servia, and Turkey have ratified none of these conventions, thus bringing into operation two conventional provisions, which may be quoted from the one respecting laws and customs of war on land:

ARTICLE 2. The provisions contained in the regulations referred to in article 1, as well as in the present convention, do not apply except between contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention.

ARTICLE 4 (paragraph 2). The convention of 1899 remains in force as between the powers which signed it, and which do not also ratify the present convention.

The latter provision applies only to conventions IV and X of 1907, the former ratified documents thus being operative. The other conventions relating to a state of war and drawn up in 1907 were new, and are rendered inoperative by the former provision. This is the legal case. Morally all the belligerents admit the force of the rules drawn up in 1907, and public opinion everywhere judges the contestants on the basis of the documents to which signatures were appended.

The declarations prohibiting the use of projectiles having as their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases and prohibiting the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, signed in 1899 and ratified by all belligerents except Turkey, were in force until the Ottoman Empire entered the war. Of these General Baron Giesl von Gieslingen, of Austria-Hungary, said in the report to the Conference (*1 Deuxième Conférence de la Paix*, 106–107):

It has been recalled that no state asked for the revision of these two declarations and the Sub-commission has been of the opinion that any discussion of their subject matter would not be acceptable. They have in fact been concluded for an indefinite term and can be denounced only after a notice given one year in advance. No power has expressed such an intention.

The case cited in the "Complementary Notes" on page 13 and listed as No. 17 on page 10 should be numbered 18, the following taking its numeral:

Case 17.—France *vs.* Peru regarding claims of creditors. On May 1, 1910, France and Peru agreed by protocol that fr. 25,000,000 would be deducted from a loan to be placed by Peru on the official Paris Bourse to pay certain French creditors. On October 8, 1912, the French minister to Peru complained that the said creditors were not included in a list of creditors submitted to the Congress. Peru replied that the protocol recognized the French creditors conditionally only and that, as its conditions were not realized, Peru was not under obligation. A compromis was signed at Lima on February 2, 1914.

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World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

WOMAN AND WAR

JULIA WARD HOWE'S PEACE CRUSADE

BY
EDWIN D. MEAD

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY BY THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
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If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history.—HORACE MANN.

TO WOMEN'S CLUBS

Do the women of America estimate adequately the significance of the present hour in relation to the great European struggle? The discussion of the question of responsibility for the war has its importance; the sending of help to stricken Belgium and the raising of money for the Red Cross are at the moment imperative; but the thing of paramount importance at this time is that thinking people shall devote themselves to securing the only justifiable issue of so great a world sacrifice,—the prevention of the possibility of a repetition of such an awful cataclysm. Men and women are agreed that this war is the greatest outrage that was ever forced upon an unwilling civilization. No nation will acknowledge responsibility for it. It has no justification, and the dominant thought with the most serious thinkers of Europe and America alike is to plan broadly to make any recurrence of such a crisis impossible. No longer can the claim be urged that great armies and navies preserve peace. The argument of militarism has completely broken down. In the mouth of "the man on the street" to-day we hear as commonplaces the principles declared by the peace party for half a century. This war is the supreme justification of the peace movement, whose warnings have been so inexorably fulfilled, and gives the movement a solemn opportunity to "come into its own."

Women's organizations have planned their various programs for the opening season,—programs for entertainment and instruction along lines undoubtedly excellent. The present, however, is an emergency in which all lesser interests should be largely ignored for the time, and thought and effort be concentrated to make the hour of decision after this conflict the great hour of the rational political reconstruction of the world. The program for government control of the manufacture of munitions of war, for the mutual reduction of armaments, the developed international court, an international police to supplant the rival national armies and navies, and a completer general world organization must be considered to-day as never before; for the critical hour has struck. No woman who reads these lines but would suspend all lesser interests if her child were lying seriously ill. All else would be forgotten, and she would keep unbroken vigil till the crisis was past. All true motherhood should at this moment give itself to the great suffering world in an effort to stem the ravages of war and militarism and nurse broken and anguished civilization into health and safety. Every woman's organization might well transform any program, and give itself in the present hour to the study and understanding of this issue of such immense moment. *Your* comprehension of the reasonableness, the possibility and ultimate inevitability of the one hopeful program for the solution of this tragical world problem will positively and definitely help toward its achievement.

The World Peace Foundation, through its Women's Department, stands ready, women of America, to help you plan in any way that seems best to you a series of readings, lectures or studies along the lines of this suggestion. You should at least find place for one important early meeting devoted to the subject, if you have not already planned it. Will not our earnest American women grasp the significance of the hour and claim their share in its high possible achievements?

40 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON.
December, 1914.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

LONGFELLOW.

WOMAN AND WAR

JULIA WARD HOWE'S PEACE CRUSADE

By Edwin D. Mead

The late Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, in his impressive address upon "The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace," emphasized three great forces in our civilization which are working as never before, and more potently in America than elsewhere, for international peace,—the business interests, working men, and woman.

"The last half-century," he said, "has changed the position of woman. She is no longer a purely home body, but has entered largely into public life. Whether voting or not, she has become an active and vigorous force in the national life. Her patriotism is as certain and as strong as that of her brother, and whenever the need comes, although she may not shoulder the musket or draw the sword, she does all that is possible to ameliorate the hardships of war. The Red Cross is her work and her glory, and the noble bands of women who are giving their time and strength to increasing its efficiency and extending the reach of its influence are among the heroines of the nation. But while all this is true, you need no assurance that her voice is and always will be potent for peace. No mother nurses her baby boy and rears him to manhood without dread that his life may in its prime be cut off by the merciless bullet. She looks forward to old age in the hope and faith that that boy, in the vigor and strength of manhood, will be her comfort, support, and glory. There never was a time since the beginning of days that woman longed for bloodshed or the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long

concentrated in steadfast opposition to war and in favor of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith, and he who looks for public recognition in this country will do well to take note of this fact."

During the last ten years the women of America and of the world have been rapidly advancing to the very front rank of service and influence in the peace movement; and at its biennial convention at San Francisco in 1912, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, whose membership includes a million American women, made the peace cause one of its regular interests, creating a special standing committee for its promotion in all the clubs of the country. By eloquent coincidence, the Federation was addressed at that convention by the Baroness von Suttner, the distinguished Austrian peace advocate, author of "Lay Down your Arms," which has been called the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of the peace movement, who was then on her last visit to this country. The Baroness von Suttner's death, on the very eve of the terrible war in Europe, gives new and solemn emphasis to her American addresses, and especially to her addresses to American women. Upon the eve of her return to Europe she wrote the following words in her Foreword to Mrs. Mead's "Swords and Ploughshares":

"While I came to America at this time to speak to all classes which it was in my power to reach upon the peace cause which lies so close to my heart, it was my central aim and wish to appeal to the women of America, who are far better organized than their sisters in Europe, and whose central organization has this year for the first time made the definite and persistent study of our cause and devotion to this cause a regular feature of its remarkable and most beneficent work. What may not these millions of thoughtful and earnest American women accomplish for the world! It was the English Ruskin who said that whenever the women of the world really make up their minds to put a period to war, they can do it. It is for the women of America, now in the fullness of time and the urgency of need, to do the great work which it is in their power to do for the peace and order of the world."

We may remember with gratitude and pride here in the United States that the International Council of Women was of American birth, and that from the very beginning the cause of international peace has been with it a dominant cause, as it has also been with our National Council of Women. The idea of the International Council

of Women was the idea of our veteran peace worker, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, the Council having been organized at Washington as far back as 1888, holding its first quinquennial convention at Chicago in 1893, the year of the International Exposition in Chicago and of the meeting there of the first International Peace Congress ever held in the United States. Of the special peace department of the International Council of Women Mrs. Sewall has been from the beginning the chairman and the animating spirit, and her services have been indefatigable.

In this year 1914, when the most appalling war in history is desolating Europe, Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence comes to us from England to appeal to the women of America for new consecration and larger service in behalf of international friendship and order. She hails the rise of the women's movement as a great new force making for constructive peace at this terrible crisis, and calls upon the women of America to carry out a campaign which will so direct and organize public opinion that it will bring the strongest and best influences to bear upon those who must eventually determine the conditions of peace. She calls for the representation of women at the Hague Conferences, and emphasizes the truth that women suffer with men in times of war and should equally with men have a voice in deciding the issues in which the welfare and indeed the very continuance of the human race are involved. "I plead for you to lead us, women of America," she says. "We women of Europe will follow. Lead us in our battle against the desolating forces of war that are destroying the flower of civilization." She asked for the co-operation of some of our leading American women, women like Jane Addams of Chicago, to give new power to the peace movement in England and Europe.

Forty years ago, a great American woman went to England and France to enlist the women of those countries in the war against war. She was not sent by others; she was not asked to go; but she was commanded to go by her own conscience and her vision of what international life should be—and she went. That woman was Julia Ward Howe; and at this time the story of that old peace crusade of hers in England and the impulse which it gave there and here to the women's movement and the peace movement alike should have an interest such as it never had before.

No one rejoiced more over the great recent advances of the peace movement than Julia Ward Howe. No one would have been more

profoundly saddened over the present awful situation in Europe, while firm in faith in the ultimate triumph of international reason. One chapter of the twenty in her "Reminiscences" is entitled "A Woman's Peace Crusade." It deals with an episode in her life too generally forgotten, but is the story of one of the most impressive efforts in a life so crowded with great and noble efforts. It was hardly five years after the close of the Civil War that the terrible Franco-Prussian War broke out; and while it was still in progress, Mrs. Howe tells us that she was visited by a sudden feeling of the cruel and unnecessary character of the contest. "It seemed to me," she wrote, "a return to barbarism, the issue being one that might easily have been settled without bloodshed. The question forced itself upon me, Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere in these matters, to prevent the waste of that human life of which they alone bear and know the cost? I had never thought of this before. The august dignity of motherhood and its terrible responsibility now appeared to me in a new aspect, and I could think of no better way of expressing my sense of these than that of sending forth an appeal to womanhood throughout the world." She immediately drew up such an appeal, imploring women the world over to awake to their sacred rights and duties to protect human life from the frightful ravages of war. She called upon those women in whose hearts her appeal found response to assist her in calling and holding a congress of women in London, to organize a holy crusade of women against the war system. She had the appeal translated into French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Swedish, and distributed copies of it far and wide, devoting two years almost entirely to correspondence upon the subject with the leading women in various countries.

She held two meetings in New York, at which the cause of peace and the ability of women to promote it were earnestly presented. To the first of these meetings, in the late autumn of 1870, Mr. Bryant came and spoke; and at the second, David Dudley Field, the great advocate of international arbitration, made a powerful address. In the spring of the year 1872, Mrs. Howe went to England to work personally for the holding of a woman's peace congress in London. In Liverpool she was welcomed by Mrs. Josephine Butler, who told her that she had come at a fortunate moment, as the public mind was at the time greatly stirred by the cruel immoralities of army life, and who gave her the names of the Winkworths and other friends of peace in London who would welcome and help her. William Henry

Channing was at the time in London, and she had much aid and counsel from him in her "Woman's Apostolate of Peace," as she afterward named it. Through Channing's good offices she was invited to present her cause at the public banquet of the Unitarian Association in London, at which Sir John Bowring and Athanase Coquerel were also present. She had already attended the anniversary meeting of the English Peace Society, and had asked for permission to speak there, which had been denied her on the ground that women had never spoken at these meetings. Finding but little encouragement from existing societies in London, she decided to hire a hall on her own account for Sunday afternoon meetings. She found one that suited her at the Freemasons' Tavern, and there she spoke on five or six Sundays, with a good attendance throughout. Meantime she came into touch personally in England with Frances Power Cobbe, Miss Clough, Mary Carpenter, and other noble women. She went to see the Duchess of Argyll, who received her pleasantly, but did not interest herself much in the plan for a woman's peace congress, and reminded her that St. Paul had said, "I suffer not a woman to teach." She replied, "Yes; but remember in another place he says that a woman may prophesy wearing a veil." She received many invitations to address meetings in various parts of England, and spoke in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, and Carlisle. She went to Cambridge and visited Prof. J. R. Seeley, the famous author of "Ecce Homo," who lent a kind ear to her plea for a combination of women in behalf of peace. Before the beginning of her Sunday services in London she went to Paris, by invitation of Aaron Powell of New York, to attend a peace congress as a delegate. She presented her credentials and asked leave to speak. With some embarrassment she was told that she might speak to the officers of the society when the public meeting was adjourned, and in a side room she simply told the story of her endeavors to enlist the sympathies and efforts of women in the cause. She felt the whole tone of the congress to be timid, and her stay in Paris was brief.

Her final meeting in London, to which all her other efforts were intended to lead up, was held in St. George's Hall. Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright sat with her on the platform, and Sir John Bowring, then an old man, spoke at some length. The attendance was good, but the meeting was by no means what Mrs. Howe had hoped it might be. "The ladies who spoke in public in those days," she says,

"mostly confined their labors to the advocacy of woman suffrage and were not much interested in my scheme of a world-wide protest of women against the cruelties of war." Two sisters of John Bright aided her in various ways, and through their instrumentality the money which she had expended in the hire of halls was returned to her. But altogether her peace crusade had but a small measure of the co-operation and success she had hoped for, and she returned disappointed to Boston. Here, however, she did not remit her efforts. She had desired to institute a festival which should be observed as Mothers' Day and be devoted to the advocacy of peace. She chose for this the second day of June, because it was in the season of flowers and a good time for outdoor meetings, and had some success in carrying out the plan. In Boston she held the Mothers' Day meetings for quite a number of years; and the day was also observed in other places, once or twice as far away as Constantinople, and often in places nearer home,—in Philadelphia, certainly, by one association down to a dozen years ago, if not even to the present time. It seems a sort of prophecy of our present May 18 celebrations.

Some time after her crusade in England, Mrs. Howe joined the American Peace Society; later she became a member of its board of directors; and at the time of her death she had been for many years one of its vice presidents. None who were present will forget her two brief addresses at the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1904. One was devoted to emphasizing the thought that the peace movement stood for justice. To her, as to Dr. Hale, justice was the holy word to emphasize; and she rejoiced that the newly established Hague Tribunal would bring this home to the public mind. The other address was a brief rehearsal of the story of her peace crusade in England told at length in her "Reminiscences"; and the story was told again, yet more impressively, in the letter which she sent to the National Peace Congress in New York in 1907, and which was read there, at the great women's meeting, by her daughter, Mrs. Hall. In this letter she speaks with intense feeling of the force of the conviction which impelled her to her peace crusade in 1872. She says: "I cried aloud, 'If the women of the world would unite their efforts to prevent resort to arms, no more blood would be shed upon the battlefield!' I felt this so strongly that it seemed as though I had only to express my conviction to rally around me the mothers of mankind."

Impressively in her letter of 1907 does she emphasize the fact that it was her consuming desire to unite the women of the world in opposition to the war system, which had been the mainspring of her devotion to the higher education of women and the spread of women's clubs. Rejoicing over the great achievements of the generation she exclaimed, "The noble army of women which I saw as in a dream, and to which I made my appeal, has now come into being"; and to this noble army she made her new appeal for decisive service in the last great campaign in the war against war. "If we have rocked the cradle, have soothed the slumber of mankind, let us be on hand at this great awakening, to make steadfast the peace of the world." Nothing could have given her supremer satisfaction than the action of the National Federation of Women's Clubs at San Francisco in 1912.

It is well for us in this hour, in the time which is now ripe for the great peace crusade of women for which the world of 1872 was not ready, to remember again, more gratefully and more seriously, her solemn "Appeal to Womanhood throughout the World." With growing confidence as the years went on she repeated her prophetic appeal; and it is now for the women of America, whom she believed at last equal to the task, to obey the call and fulfill the prophecy. We were glad to see her portrait hung in the Old State House in Boston. We rejoice in every memorial of her. But the most fitting memorial of such inspiring leaders is always some great activity which perpetuates their inspiration. I should like to see the American Federation of Women's Clubs, I should like to see the National Council of Women, lead in the creation of a Julia Ward Howe Peace Fund of a hundred thousand dollars,—I wish that it might be ten times that, and I wish that the England to which she went on her holy crusade might share in the work,—to be used, under the direction of the noble leaders of the organized women of America and England who have caught her vision, in carrying out the high purpose which was nearest to her heart.

When Mrs. Howe died, her old-time friend and co-worker in the cause of freedom and the cause of peace, John T. Trowbridge, wrote these lines:

She sang the Battle Hymn that rings
Down the long corridors of time;
Her lifelong human service sings
Of Peace, an anthem more sublime.

Beneath her portrait in the report of the great New York Peace Congress are printed the following lines by Frederick Lawrence Knowles, with motive almost the same:

Lady who lovest and who livest Peace,
And yet did'st write Earth's noblest battle song
At Freedom's bidding,—may thy fame increase
Till dawns the warless age for which we long.

Her fame is secure. It is for the women of America, to whose advancement she devoted her life, to perpetuate and extend her influence in the direction which to her was most important and most imperative.

We are of those who consider that war is not necessary; then, not being so, that it is a crime. We consider murder a sin, and we consider war as wholesale murder, although making allowance for the great error that is in the mind of the murderer. We do not condemn as murderers the soldiers who do what they are taught. But now, speaking to women who, by study or by intuition, do know that war is a relic of barbarism, and that men by their misguided judgment will make it continue, I want to speak to the women about their responsibility and their duty. In the contention against war women have some chance. In some spheres we have great influence and power, and if we fail to use this influence and power in the service of what we consider the most glorious cause in the world, we commit a great sin. Now, mothers, sisters, you have another advantage over men. It is this: While a certain roughness and hardness is excusable, perhaps even desirable, in the composition of a strong man's character, the chief virtues of women are declared to be gentleness, kind-heartedness, charity and pity. It is our privilege to show these feelings without restraint and to make them the mainspring of our actions. Let us use this privilege in the struggle against warfare. War, being the cause of the vastest sufferings, is also the occasion for the vastest pity. Only read the reports from Port Arthur. Try to realize the depths of these horrors and your hearts must melt. While such wars are being waged, while such miseries and such cruelty are staining our earthly home, every woman should be clad in deep mourning; no woman should be seen to smile. If you read and think of those things, if you try to realize them, hatred against war must inflame your hearts and pity must pervade your souls. Fortunately human imagination is not strong enough to realize all these horrors. We can only grasp what is seen. If we could but grasp all those things, I think it would make us mad. And our great pity must not be allowed to weaken our reason; it must be our strength. We can never undo what has been done, and we cannot stop what is going on; but what we can do is to help to prepare a new order in which these things will never occur again.—*Baroness von Suttner, at the Boston Peace Congress, 1904.*

MILITARISM THE FOE OF WOMAN'S PROGRESS

It is the spirit of militarism, the glorification of brute force, and this alone, that has kept woman in political, legal and economic bondage throughout the ages; and there is still enough of it remaining in our enlightened twentieth century to make the idea of woman's participation in public office and public life a thing to be scoffed at by the majority, ridiculed and opposed.

It was not any manifestation of superiority of the masculine mind that first threw the chains of political serfdom around one half of humanity; it was merely the fact that in the dark ages of the world's history brute force—that is, militarism in one or another form—reigned supreme. Where brute force was lord, woman with her differently constituted muscular development was considered an inferior being simply because she did not bear arms.

What is it that has made the American woman the admiration of all civilized nations, the envy of her sisters elsewhere? She was not sent down fresh from Heaven in her present state, nor did she spring full grown from the head of Jove. She was the daughter of mothers born in the military-ridden states of Europe. But now she is the product of several generations of freedom from the military idea. This, and this alone, has given her a measure of freedom beyond that attained by women anywhere else.

Let American women think seriously on this matter of war and peace, on this question of imperialism and militarism. If our nation should by any unfortunate but highly improbable combination of circumstances take her place amid the army-ridden world powers, it would mean much more to the American woman than a succession of wars that would bereave her of her loved ones, or send them back to her crippled or afflicted with loathsome disease. It would mean for American woman as a sex the loss of much she has gained by her happier circumstances of the past two centuries, and it would place the goal of perfect political and legal equality she still desires far, far out of reach.—*Grace Isabel Colbron.*

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We have before us a task that few comprehend. It is for us not only to institute the measures necessary to curtail this awful waste of life and property, but to bring conviction to the masses that this question cannot be handled successfully by a few people. It is a work for the whole world. We must do our part towards bringing the subject so forcefully before each and every one that all will feel that it is necessary to take a hand in it. We go about our vocations of every kind, giving ninety-nine per cent. of our time and money to them, with hardly a thought or a dollar to the greatest of all needs, and expect these terrible evils of war will be done away with,—that in some way the powers of the earth or the heavens will remove them. Great changes in the established order of things do not come about in this way. The All-wise Power has no hands or voices but ours. He must work through His creatures; and if we fail to take up His commands the work will have to wait. Latent feeling must be transformed into action. The peace leaders have not impressed the people sufficiently with the idea that this is a work that must be undertaken by the people as a whole in a large way if any great change is to be made, and that it will never succeed with an indefinite and uncertain source of supply. We must place responsibility as broadly as possible upon the people, and ask each to take a hand in contributions of both money and time. It is not enough for the minister in the pulpit to devote one Sunday in the year to a peace sermon; nor for the teacher in the school to give one day in the year to peace lessons; nor the newspaper one editorial in the year; nor for the men of business and finance to have a convention once a year to talk over these matters. All must be awakened to the necessity of taking a vital hand in this work. The future of our cause depends especially upon the co-operation of vigorous young men who wish to devote their whole lives to carrying it forward; and to such our schools and colleges and churches and the press should earnestly appeal.

EDWIN GINN.

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ANNUAL REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION BY THE CHIEF DIRECTOR

On the day in December last when the Trustees of the World Peace Foundation assembled for their adjourned annual meeting, it was to be shocked by learning that Edwin Ginn, the founder of the work and their president, had been struck down at his home the day before, December 15, by an attack of the gravest character, and was at that hour unconscious. He never regained full consciousness, and on January 21 he died. On Sunday, March 1, a public service in his memory was held at the South Congregational Church in Boston, hallowed to him by memories of Dr. Hale, so long the Nestor of the peace cause in America, and of impressive peace meetings there in recent years at which he had been present addressed by his dear friends and coworkers in the cause, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and the Baroness von Suttner. The religious service was conducted by Rev. Edward Cummings, Dr. Hale's successor and one of the Trustees of the Foundation; and warm tributes were paid to Mr. Ginn as a citizen and neighbor, an educational publisher, a philanthropist and a leader in the peace cause, by Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Prof. George L. Kittredge, Dr. Edward M. Hartwell and Edwin D. Mead. The report of this service in pamphlet form has been placed in the hands of the trustees and of large numbers of Mr. Ginn's friends, coworkers and fellow citizens.

On January 29, Samuel B. Capen, an honored member of our Board of Trustees, died at Shanghai, on a journey around the world in the joint service of the cause of foreign missions and the cause of peace; and on the Saturday following the Sunday on which was held the memorial service in honor of Mr. Ginn there was held at the Old South Church in Boston a public service in memory of Mr. Capen. The Trustees of the World Peace Foundation adopted and placed upon their records the following expression of their honor and high personal regard for their associates:—

The Trustees of the World Peace Foundation unite in the expression of their profound sorrow and sense of loss in the death, at his home in Winchester, Massachusetts, January 21, 1914, of Edwin Ginn, the creator of the Foundation and

from the beginning president of the Board of Trustees. It is with gratitude and pride that, at the close of his labors, we review his conspicuous service for the cause of international peace and justice, in which we have been privileged to give him our counsel and support. When he established the World Peace Foundation, the provision which he made for it was the largest and most generous which had then ever been made for peace propaganda and education, and as so large a portion of his fortune it represented an impressive sacrifice and devotion. He threw not only his resources but himself into the service of the commanding cause; and all his work was pervaded by his energetic and enthusiastic personality and his consecration. His occasional articles and addresses were full of practical wisdom upon the organization of the peace work. No man in our time has felt more deeply the waste and wrong of the present system of war and armaments or the certainty that these could be supplanted by the methods of justice and co-operation if the intelligent forces of the nations would act together to that end. His plans were comprehensive and far-reaching, and those who responsibly inherit them pledge to them renewed loyalty. We honor the memory of Edwin Ginn as one of the great figures in the American peace movement, through which the United States has contributed so signally toward the development of a united world.

By sad and startling fatality, the death of our honored associate, Samuel B. Capen, occurred at Shanghai, China, on January 29, only a week after the death of Mr. Ginn. The peculiar personal esteem in which Mr. Capen was held by Mr. Ginn was witnessed not only by his place upon the Board of Trustees of the World Peace Foundation, but also by his position as a Trustee of the Charlesbank Homes and of Mr. Ginn's estate. His service for the peace cause was manifold and untiring, and at the time of his death he was President of the Massachusetts Peace Society. Conspicuously faithful to the duties of citizenship in his city, state and nation, he counted all men his brothers; and he died in the course of an official tour of visitation around the world as President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Upon this tour he also represented the World Peace Foundation; and in India and elsewhere he addressed important meetings in behalf of the peace cause, of which he wrote to the Foundation with joy and inspiration. His stirring pamphlet upon "Foreign Missions and World Peace" is one of our most valuable publications. His last article for the press, received and published in Boston a fortnight after his death, spoke of his identification with our work, and emphasized America's opportunity and responsibility for leadership in international progress. We recognize this farewell address as a sacred admonition; and in this almost simultaneous passing of our two revered associates and leaders, we feel, with the peace workers of the country, a solemn summons to new and larger service of the cause which they served so well.

The annual meeting of the Trustees of the Foundation the present November finds the nations of Europe engaged in the greatest war in human history, bringing home to all serious minds upon unprecedented scale and with unprecedented horror the evil with which the Foundation was established to battle and the imperative necessity of supplanting war by institutions of international law and justice commensurate with our civilization.

It chanced remarkably, and under the sad circumstances most usefully, that at the outbreak of the war and for several weeks following, the Peace Foundation was as strongly represented in London as in Boston, with its members there able to study in close contact the awful situation so suddenly precipitated. I went to Europe with Mrs.

Mead in June, with the purpose of attending the International Church Peace Conference at Constance, the International Peace Congress at Vienna and other gatherings, and to promote our various interests chiefly in England and Germany, but found myself instead a student of the war. Dr. Jordan was still in Europe, where for several months he had been giving addresses in England and Germany, interrupted by a journey to Australia, and briefly before the war had made extensive journeys through the Balkan States, critically studying the character and effects of the recent wars, as a few months before he had been making studies on the ground of the conflicting sentiments and general conditions in Alsace and Lorraine. Mr. Albert G. Bryant of the Foundation, who had represented us at the International Congress of the Chambers of Commerce at Paris in June, was still in Europe when I arrived and met me in London, returning to Boston only three weeks before the outbreak of the war; and Dr. George W. Nasmyth, the head of our Students' Department, arrived in London for work in England and Germany at about the same time. Dr. Jordan soon after joined us; and we were together there for several weeks after the outbreak of the war, in constant conference and co-operation. In frequent conference with us also was Norman Angell, who is regularly affiliated with the Foundation's work; and it would be unjust not to refer also to Mr. and Mrs. Frank F. Williams of Buffalo, for so many years the animating spirits of the important peace work in that city, in which the Foundation has earnestly co-operated. They went as delegates to the Constance Conference and returned with us to London, remaining with us there for a month and rendering indefatigable service. Our American peace movement was thus most opportunely represented, chiefly by our Foundation's active workers, at the point where most was to be learned and most to be done at the most critical period; and it is a satisfaction to know that, while we were ourselves brought by the deep experience into a far clearer and more definite understanding of the situation, we were able to render significant service alike to our friends in Europe and at home. We came together almost daily for mutual counsel on our service; we maintained constant relations with those in London whom we could most help and who could most help us; we mediated the best American thought to all European points where it would do most good; we established close relations with the press; and we sent constantly to the Foundation all possible material, much of it not otherwise easily available, which might help our own press and people to clearer understanding of the complex situation. With the leaders of the English peace organizations, with our friends in

Parliament and in the churches, and with the centers of American activity in London during the critical weeks when thousands of our countrymen were gathered there, we maintained relations which we trust were as helpful to them as to us.

The last week in July, the week before the outbreak of the war, Mrs. Mead and I spent in Brussels. On our way there from London, we spent a day at The Hague, and there saw for the first time the Peace Palace; and there has been no day during all the days of tumult and tragedy which have followed when we have not thought back to that Peace Palace as the impressive prophecy and pledge of the day, which I believe to be not distant, when the war system as a system will be condemned by the statesmanship of the world and nations will settle their differences as individuals within the nations settle theirs, by justice and reason and not by force. We arrived in Brussels just as the Russian mobilization was announced, and found Senator La-Fontaine under the burden of the fear of general war. I am one of the American members of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, of which Senator LaFontaine is the president; and instantly abandoning other plans we remained with him at Brussels, which is also the home of Dr. Lange, the general secretary of the Interparliamentary Union. Telegraphic calls were at once sent out to the members of the Berne Bureau and other peace leaders throughout Europe; and three days later we assembled, four or five from Paris, as many from London, three from Germany, the secretary from Berne, and a large delegation from Holland, making with the strong Belgian contingent a convention of fifty or sixty. Never were sessions more solemn or more resolute than ours that day; and the telegraphic addresses which went from our chamber to the Czar, the Kaiser and the Austrian premier, to President Wilson and to all who, on that eve of the impending crisis, might possibly yet exercise some staying power, will witness how those of our responsible leaders who could get together in the awful situation so suddenly precipitated did what they could. As we left Brussels that evening for Cologne and Constance, it was to find the Belgian railways everywhere blocked by the already mobilizing troops. As reflecting the startling vicissitudes of this appalling period, I may here refer to the fact that M. LaFontaine and his wife, with whom we had thus been in relation on the eve of the war, six weeks later spent with us our last evening in London, refugees in England from their Belgian home; and in London he still remains, as the best point from which to maintain relations with the scattered members of the Berne Bureau and correlate their influence in such measure as is possible for the advancement of the constructive

policies imposed by the crisis. An impressive manifesto to the world touching this positive program, signed by such individual members of the Bureau as Senator LaFontaine could reach and unite, is appearing at this very hour.

It was in London, in co-operation with English leaders, that my own work was chiefly done; but the last week in August I spent in Germany, going from London to Berlin and Leipsic, accompanied by Dr. Nasmyth of the Foundation, in order, through interviews with the largest possible number of influential and representative men, to gain the truest understanding of the German point of view. It was as impossible to gain this in London as it was to find any just understanding of England in Berlin. I conferred with such men as Prof. Wilhelm Wundt, Prof. Carl Lamprecht, Prof. Wilhelm Foerster, Dr. Drechsler of the Amerika Institut, Edward Bernstein, the Socialist leader, Prof. Ludwig Quidde, Prof. Wilhelm Ostwald, Prof. Walther Schuecking, and several of the church leaders who had expected to go to Constance, besides many American residents. One constant purpose of my conversations with the score of thoughtful men with whom I spoke in Germany was to interpret to them the best English motives; as I then sought to interpret to London and to our own people the best German motives, to establish points of contact, to meliorate such bitterness as rests upon untruth, and to promote whatever might point to good understanding and good will in the hour, to which every such conflict in the end must come, when representatives of the warring nations sit down around a table to settle their differences with their brains instead of with their swords.

At Cologne we were close behind the campaign in Belgium; and every half hour great trains were moving through loaded with wounded, with prisoners, with artillery, with troops, with Red Cross nurses, bringing the terrible war scene almost under our eyes.

At our ministry at The Hague, where we stopped both as we went and returned, and where we found Prof. George G. Wilson of Harvard rendering special service as counsel to Dr. Van Dyke, we realized anew in the great throng, with its infinite perplexities and needs, which besieged the ministry, what we also felt so deeply in London, how immense are the responsibility and burden thrown upon our American representatives in Europe by the complex and awful pressure of the war. The Dutch Peace Society, whose headquarters are at The Hague, is one of the best of our peace organizations, and its activities were never so devotedly or intelligently exerted as at this hour, when The Hague has become so peculiarly a refuge and clearing-house for the peace forces. The services of Dr. van Beek en Donk

and his associates have been untiring; and we were able to perfect at The Hague arrangements by which helpful interchanges of newspapers and other needed material between our peace friends in England and in Germany could be regularly effected.

Coming thus into touch with England, Germany, Belgium and Holland, I had no direct touch with Russia, France or Austria. But I had a long conference in London with Prince Kropotkin, who has so many Russian correspondents and through the Russian newspapers follows Russian movements with such anxiety and precision, and I was greatly encouraged by his reports of the advance of liberal tendencies in Russia and his conviction that the war, whether ending in victory or defeat for Russia, can issue only in larger rights and power for the people there and distinct curtailment of the dominance of militarism and autocracy. Our long-time London coworker, Mr. G. H. Perris, the editor of *Concord*, the faithful friend of the Foundation, who was with us at the Brussels conference, went directly from there to Paris, where he became and has remained the correspondent of the London *Chronicle*, and his dispatches have had for us almost the character of personal communications. Alfred H. Fried of Vienna, the eminent Austrian pacifist, the editor of the leading German peace journal, *Friedenswarte*, and a recent recipient of the Nobel prize, came from Vienna to Leipsic to spend a day with us there, to discuss the Austrian situation as well as the general crisis.

For these large and varied experiences and relations in the critical places at the critical hour I am profoundly grateful, as regards alike the insights which they gave me and the opportunities for influence. I have for years reiterated that international work must be internationally done, and have worked for nothing more assiduously than to bring our own efforts and organizations into close and effective co-operation with those of Europe. But nowhere are co-operation and the presence of the peace workers of various nations more imperative than in war itself, on the trail of war, and above all where war threatens; and their function is publicity, the wide and quick circulation of the truth. Just before this appalling general war made us almost forget the terrible Balkan wars before it, Dr. Jordan, returning from his investigations in the Balkans, which everywhere confirmed the findings of the Carnegie Commission, whose report had just appeared, expressed in London his belief that that report was the most important document ever published in behalf of the peace cause. He meant, for one thing, that the report served notice on all warring nations, with fullness and emphasis hitherto unknown, that from now on a day of judgment was ever at their

heels, and that there was nothing hidden which should not be revealed. This is much, in an age when it is public opinion which pronounces doom. But *post mortem* publicity is not enough. The imperative publicity is preventive publicity. I referred in my last annual report to my proposal to the president of the Berne Bureau for the creation of a regular standing International Commission of the ablest men of various nations, men commanding universal confidence, to investigate every threatening international situation thoroughly and betimes and submit its conclusions to the world while it was yet possible for enlightened public opinion to exert influence. This proposal I was to have laid fully before the Bureau and before the International Peace Congress at Vienna in September; and the events of the year and my own experiences have accentuated to me anew its urgent importance.

President Eliot, in his address at the New York Peace Congress in 1907, dwelt with great seriousness on the dense ignorance of peoples concerning each other and the distrust which results from this ignorance as a common cause or antecedent condition of war, and urged as one of the next things which we ought to do the taking of practical steps toward increasing international publicity. "It would be better," he said, "if the civilized nations of the world would unite in carrying on an international bureau of publicity, just as a few of the civilized nations united to keep blazing the great lighthouse on Cape Spartel, when the government in whose territory the light is situated would not undertake the duty of maintaining it. If we could extend the co-operative mode of action, so that there would be in every capital of the world, in every port where the exports and imports of two or more nations are constantly exchanged, in every great frontier city, and every great center of distribution, an impartial, intelligent, expert agent for international publicity, reporting steadily and with dispatch to one central publication office, an effective security would be provided for international peace. We already know the way to organize and conduct such an enterprise. The news agencies of the commercial world have shown us how; the press of the world, the dailies and weeklies and the magazines, have shown us how. If the nations will not thus combine, four or five rich men, public spirited, humane, desiring to serve their countries and the world, could do it without national aid of any sort. I would undertake to name four or five Americans who together are capable of doing this great service to the whole world."

This is a most important and statesmanlike suggestion, and one peculiarly necessary to repeat at this time. It is precisely in line

with my proposal to the Berne Bureau; and I wish that at the first moment when our resources permit, our Foundation might co-operate with the Berne Bureau or with any other body to realize this purpose in a large way. I believe that the international publicity which we need is a publicity directed absolutely by the peace forces. I realized keenly in London and Berlin last summer how much it is within the power of a few men at a critical hour to do in the way of getting and spreading needed information. It was with more misgiving and reluctance even than relief that I came from Europe to America in September, feeling almost like one deserting his post and deeply regretting that there were not two of me, that one might stay. More and more we must strengthen our own position and activities in Europe. I believe that if such a system as that outlined by President Eliot had been established ten years ago, it would have been almost impossible to launch the present war upon Europe with the precipitancy which we witnessed, a precipitancy which was its most appalling feature, giving the conservative and rational forces no opportunity for conference or hardly for thought.

The situation has also emphasized with unprecedented power considerations pressed in another address by President Eliot, an address at Mohonk last year, on "How to Root out the Causes of War." Here is where the peace party has failed in proportioning its work. It has not made attention to the causes of war the first duty. It has not had the wisdom of Mr. Root, who in his instructions as Secretary of State to our delegates to the Second Hague Conference in 1907 urged them to consider proposals which might be presented as standing in the following order of substantial importance:—

(1) Provisions tending to prevent disagreements between nations.
(2) Provisions tending to dispose of disagreements without war.
(3) Provisions tending to preserve the rights and interests of neutrals.
(4) Provisions tending to mitigate the evils of war to belligerents.

We have reversed the first two instructions. We have thought more of the judicial settlement of disputes than of the removal of occasions of disputes. We are now compelled to ask ourselves whether 170,000,000 people, as in Russia, in a pre-eminently commercial age, can permanently or properly be denied access to the sea; and whether Germany's rapidly expanding population, already two-thirds that of the United States, with industry, commerce and national enterprise expanding even faster than population, can permanently or properly be confined in an area less than Texas. The whole question of the limits and boundaries of nations, now so illogical and accidental, and of the reciprocal rights and relations of peoples, must be taken up by

the world's statesmanship in a new and magnanimous way, with an eye to the common good; and to this end the peace party must contribute its influence if it would do its part, as concerns the most critical point, to root out the causes of war.

In this general interest also it must concentrate attention as it has not done upon the direct bearing of political systems and political philosophy upon the world's peace and order. The cause of peace is organically related to the cause of self-government. The peace movement is strong in precisely those nations where the people rule; and autocracy and militarism go together. A democracy should dread every insidious appeal for militarism and great armaments as a menace to democracy itself; as every people that would not invite war should check the expression and the spirit of that bastard "patriotism" which places the selfish ambitions of the nation before the rights and welfare of humanity.

Never has the truth that peace lacks its surest guarantee when government is not in the hands of the people received more startling confirmation than in the war precipitated by Austria, Russia and Germany this year; and never was the truth more powerfully enforced than by Germany's own greatest thinker, Immanuel Kant, who wrote his famous tractate on "Eternal Peace" just as our American republic was founded. It is our aim at the Foundation to add gradually to our International Library, among its various features for various classes of workers and students, all of the more important classics of the peace movement. We published some time ago the "Great Design of Henry IV"; and we have published this autumn, and believe that it will prove peculiarly timely and useful, Kant's "Eternal Peace" and other international essays. Kant was the preeminent philosopher of the peace movement; and this is a time for all peace workers and all men to study first principles, for never were the direct results of false philosophy and the necessity of profounder theories of international politics and life more evident than at this hour.

We published in the International Library at the same time a little volume containing fifteen of the Prize Orations of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, with an introduction reviewing the remarkable peace work among our college and university students in recent years by Prof. Stephen F. Weston, the secretary of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, and a foreword by Dr. Charles F. Thwing, the president of the Association. In addition to these two volumes in the International Library, we have published during the year a new edition of Rev. Charles F. Dole's work upon "The Coming People,"

with an added chapter upon the Coming World Order, and a collection of papers upon current issues of war and peace, by Dr. David Starr Jordan, under the title of "What Shall We Say?" The additions to our pamphlet series during the year have been: "Suggestions for the Study of International Relations," by Charles H. Levermore; "American Leadership for Peace and Arbitration," by Carl Schurz; "The Commission of Inquiry: the Wilson-Bryan Peace Plan," by Denys P. Myers; "The Immunity of Private Property at Sea," by Joseph H. Choate; "The Anglo-American Agreement of 1817 for Disarmament on the Great Lakes," by Charles H. Levermore; "What Can Military Force do in Mexico?", by Norman Angell; "Dreadnoughts and Dividends," by Philip Snowden; "The United States of Europe," by Victor Hugo; and a reprint of two of the orations from the volume of Prize Orations of the Intercollegiate Peace Association. We also published in pamphlet form a paper by A. Fisher, a Harvard student, upon "Summer Military Camps," and many broadsides and slips in promotion of various aspects of our propaganda or relating to current critical exigencies, especially the Mexican situation and the present European crisis. Our aim is at every real exigency in our movement, or in the movement of events, to place in the hands of editors, of all the peace agencies and all influential centers, often in the hands of Congressmen and other public servants, in brief and pregnant form, the information or suggestion which may best meet the need of the moment. Each pamphlet published, although various pamphlets are often prepared for various classes, is issued at its particular time for a particular purpose, the pamphlets of the present year being directly related, as will be seen, to the successive demands or exigencies of our cause during the year.

In this connection, it is, I think, right to say that the Foundation does more in the direction of general publicity in behalf of the movement, especially through the press, than any other of the peace agencies. I have myself never written so much for the newspapers as during the past year; but I wish especially to pay tribute to the devotion, industry, fertility and intimacy with everything happening in the international field of Mr. Denys P. Myers of our publicity department. The peace party and the public little know how much of compact, accurate, necessary and timely information which they derive from newspapers and otherwise owes its preparation or inspiration to his indefatigable brain; and his services to government offices and the international bureaus have been of distinct significance.

I have mentioned the reprint in one of our pamphlets of two of the orations from the volume of Prize Orations of the Intercollegiate

Peace Association. The two orations thus reprinted were upon "National Honor and Peace," by Louis Broido, a student in the University of Pittsburgh, and "National Honor and Vital Interests," by Russell Weisman of the Western Reserve University. These orations won such warm admiration from Mr. Carnegie, when he read the volume, that he immediately authorized us to reprint them in this pamphlet form and circulate a hundred thousand copies at his expense. I mention this with satisfaction as an illustration of the deep interest which is being taken in the work of our college and university students in the peace cause. There is no field of our work in which deeper interest should be felt. We are devoting ever increasing attention to the promotion of interest in international relations in the colleges and universities, both as concerns attention by professors and instructors in the regular curriculum, and the organization of peace associations among the students themselves. Professor Levermore, who has charge of the former division of the work, and Dr. Nasmyth, in charge of special activities in the student bodies, speak in detail of the work which they have done during the year in their summaries appended to this report; and I cannot speak too highly of their work and its importance. It is our colleges and universities that train a predominant proportion of the men who in American life chiefly create and control public opinion, our statesmen and scholars, lawyers and editors, preachers and teachers; and nothing is more imperative than that these higher institutions should be pervaded by the best international teaching and sentiment. Nothing is more cheering than the rapid development of such teaching and sentiment in almost all of our American colleges to-day; and among them all we find the warmest hospitality and co-operation. The demand for new text-books and varied literary material for the new interest is making itself ever more strongly felt; and this demand we must generously meet. Professor Levermore's "Suggestions for the Study of International Relations" has met a distinct and great need; and it should be in the hands of multitudes more of teachers not only in the colleges, but in normal and high schools, than we can easily supply. Were we in position to print and circulate a hundred thousand copies of many of our pamphlets, instead of the present limited number, the usefulness of this department of our service would be immensely strengthened; for our pamphlets, designed always for a definite purpose, often relate expressly to subjects of paramount interest to the educational world, the great world of teachers and students. The demand for lectures in colleges and universities is very large. In addition to the work of Professor

Levermore and Dr. Nasmyth, I have myself given many lectures at universities during the year, a large proportion of the 25 addresses given in my brief Western trip in the spring being to such audiences; Dr. Jordan has given a far greater number; Mr. Hamilton Holt, who is regularly attached to the Foundation as one of its directors, has given a dozen university addresses under our auspices; and Dr. Macdonald, Professor Hull and Mr. Bryant have all rendered service in this field.

In the extension of students' peace associations we have especially high hopes; and this is rapidly proceeding. In recent months Dr. Nasmyth has established strong clubs at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton and Cornell; we co-operate constantly with President Thwing and Secretary Weston of the Intercollegiate Peace Association; and there is no reason why every college and university in the country should not have such associations among its students within a brief period. The Cosmopolitan Club movement, which stands in such vital relation with the other international movements among university students, always has our active interest; and our relations with the student work in European universities were never so promising as at the moment when the present war was precipitated. We had one fine young scholar with work well begun with the students in Paris, and another just to begin in Berlin; and this work will be resumed at the earliest practicable moment. Dr. Nasmyth went to England in July to take part in the summer school for students of the peace movement, arranged by Norman Angell, which held two sessions daily for a fortnight at Jordans, the old Buckinghamshire place so closely associated with William Penn, with supplementary work in London. Fifty or sixty young men attended these sessions, largely earnest workers whom Norman Angell has inspired and gathered around him in this latest time, many of them associated with the Garton Foundation or the conduct of the journal, *War and Peace.* There were, however, half a dozen devoted young American scholars, sent over through the provision of the International Conciliation Association. The conferences were in many ways remarkable; and Mr. Angell's dialectical skill and stimulating power have seldom had more useful and impressive exercise than during those weeks. Dr. Jordan, Dr. Nasmyth and myself all gave addresses at various sessions; and Dr. Nasmyth was present during the whole time, it being right to say that no one rendered Mr. Angell more efficient service. He was with us at Constance when the war-cloud burst, and at once threw himself into the service of the American delegates and the British committee in their congestion and perplexities,

giving untiring attention for a month to a mass of detail affecting the critical financial situation in which so many found themselves, earning the gratitude of scores of those who were stranded or embarrassed, and especially strengthening his relations with the London peace forces. Already closely allied here with John R. Mott and his international work among students and Christian Associations, he joined in the efforts of English committees engaged in similar work and in the preparation of peace programs for Sunday-schools and church circles, for which the crisis has created in England as here an unprecedented demand. An illustration of the multiplying responses to this suddenly increased interest among the young people in the churches is the organization here of the Christian Endeavor Peace Union, founded by Dr. Francis E. Clark, the head of the great Christian Endeavor movement, a member of our own Advisory Council, who confidently expects that this new Peace Union will at no distant day number in its membership millions of the Society's young people. There is not in the world, I believe, another center where such broad, varied and vigorous work is being done for the peace movement among students as by our own department and the International Students' Bureau under Dr. Nasmyth's wise and strong direction. The International Students' Congress which had been fixed for Montevideo next summer has had to be postponed on account of the war, but it is hoped that its postponement will be for but a year. At present Dr. Nasmyth is engaged, in conference with Professor Levermore and myself, upon plans for a Summer School of Peace next year at some convenient center like Amherst or Cornell, which we believe will be welcomed by hundreds of students and workers connected with organizations of every character, whose interest in the peace cause and desire to serve it have been deepened by the events of the summer as never before. Our own fortnightly "Peace Conferences for Peace Workers," held last winter at the Foundation's rooms, proved so useful and so responsive to the increasing need of those studying and serving the peace cause, that a similar series of conferences will be arranged this season, with the expectation of yet deeper interest.

Dr. Jordan has never rendered the Foundation larger service than during the last year; and very much of this service has been in the form of lectures before schools and universities. He has given more than a hundred lectures, nearly forty in Great Britain alone, others in Germany, Australia and the Balkans, his visit to the Near East carrying him as far as Robert College in Constantinople. During the last month, on his way East from San Francisco, he has given

nearly fifty addresses, many of them before university audiences. He has been as untiring with his pen as upon the platform, having during the year, and especially during the European crisis, contributed a large number of articles to the newspapers and magazines.

At the annual convention of the National Education Association at St. Paul last summer, of which Dr. Swain of our Board of Trustees was the president, and at which unusual prominence was given to the peace cause, Dr. Jordan was elected president of the Association for the ensuing year; and the convention is to be held in San Francisco. In connection with it will be held, as usual, the annual convention of the American School Peace League; and it is expected that the work in behalf of the peace movement at San Francisco and upon the whole Pacific Coast during the next year will be especially active and important. A plan is being canvassed for a comprehensive Peace Exhibit in connection with the coming exposition at San Francisco, bringing strikingly before the eye the whole course of the constructive international movement, and supplementing this by popular conferences and the distribution of literature. The School Peace League's last convention was of signal interest, and it is believed that next summer's convention will be yet more so. The work of the League during the year has steadily expanded, and its usefulness was never so great. It has just published a volume prepared by half a dozen able educational workers, with an introduction by Ex-President Taft, entitled "A Course in Citizenship," showing that all true citizenship culminates in "the world family." This volume, primarily for teachers, is an admirable illustration of what is being done to bring peace teaching into the public schools. There is no work in the peace movement to-day which is more important than that of the School Peace League, which it is a satisfaction to have affiliated with our own work, and there is none which makes a stronger appeal for generous support.

Mr. Albert G. Bryant of the Foundation represented us at the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce at Paris in June. He had worked untiringly here for weeks before the Congress, in cooperation with the officials of our National Chamber of Commerce, to strengthen American preparation for the Congress, and in Paris itself he rendered distinct service. This was the first session of the Congress after the great session in Boston in 1912, in which it will be remembered that the Foundation took a peculiarly active interest and to the preparation for which it made large financial contributions. It was because we felt deeply the importance of enlisting in the interest of our movement the commercial men of the world and this greatest

of their organizations. Our effort then was more than justified, the Boston Congress proving one of the most important peace demonstrations ever witnessed in this country; and movements then initiated, broadly developed since, and culminating in fitting action at Paris, have given to this great commercial organization such instrumentalities as are likely to make it felt in the promotion of constructive and far-reaching measures in the settlement of the present disorders. To this end our American commercial bodies will exert an influence second to no other. There was never a time when their interest in our cause was so keen, or when so many invitations for addresses before Chambers of Commerce, Economic Clubs and Boards of Trade came to the Foundation.

The State Commissions which Mr. Bryant has already organized in many Western states and is rapidly multiplying, to promote locally the Foundation's interests, will serve those interests through the commercial organizations, as well as through the press, the churches, the libraries and the schools. Mr. Bryant is also concentrating much work upon the Granges of the country, which, as I have noticed in previous reports, are so hospitable to our cause, are already serving it well in many places, never so well as now, and which we aim to enlist in the provision of a lecture service by which the agricultural population of all our states shall be regularly reached. The Grange constituency is made up as largely of women as of men; and there are multitudes of towns in which the Grange is the only meeting-place which brings large numbers of the people together. The head of the lecture service of the Massachusetts State Grange, Mrs. George S. Ladd, is most earnest in our service, and her addresses show real grasp of the movement. I wish here to express my gratitude to Mr. James H. Cutler of our Advisory Council for his zealous and constant co-operation, particularly in the promotion of our cause among the Granges, but in its general promotion in every field. He has made repeated financial contributions to our work; but it is untiring personal devotion such as his for which every one of us has occasion to be grateful.

On June 21 the Baroness von Suttner died at her home in Vienna. She was the most distinguished peace advocate among the women of the world; and she regarded her visit to this country in 1912, during which she gave addresses in almost every important city from Boston to San Francisco, as the culmination of her work. As she went away she made a special appeal to the women of America for larger devotion to the cause which lay so close to her heart. "What may not these millions of thoughtful and earnest American women accomplish

for the world! It is for the women of America, now in the fullness of time and the urgency of need, to do the great work which it is in their power to do for the peace and order of the world." She recognized that the organization of the work among our women was vastly broader and stronger than in Europe. We may take satisfaction in the fact that at the Foundation we saw from the beginning its importance. Our Women's Department under Mrs. Duryea has done through these years a constantly growing work. The work was never so large as during the last year; and the deepened interest among the clubs created by the present crisis is multiplying the demands for service and opening up large new opportunities. Miss Eckstein's work in Europe is sadly interrupted by the present tragedy and tumult; but I met her at Leipsic in August and found her courage unbroken; and she is still working on as she can during the storm.

The crisis has of course developed an unprecedented interest in the peace cause, which is strongly felt by us here. The demand for our literature has doubled; inquiries of every character are pouring in upon us as never before; and the requests for addresses are so constant that many of us are working day and evening. Never were the people so anxious for our word, and never was the opportunity for constructive work so great. We should spare no effort at such a time to expand our service in every direction to the utmost possible extent.

The founding this year of the Church Peace Union and its endowment by Mr. Carnegie with $2,000,000, an occasion for profound gratitude to all workers for the peace cause, is of peculiar significance to us of the World Peace Foundation. It provides broadly and generously for attention to a most important field, for which we felt under obligation to provide somehow among the various fields which made demands upon our limited resources; and this alone is a distinct relief. But happily the two foundations are enabled to work in positive co-operation, to great mutual advantage. Five of our trustees and directors—Mr. Plimpton, Dr. Faunce, Professor Hull, Mr. Holt and myself—are among the trustees named for the Union, three of us being upon its executive committee. The Union takes considerable quantities of our pamphlets and other publications, many of which are as well suited to its uses as to ours; and for various purposes of publicity and for other ends we act together for the advancement of the common cause, the spirit and administration of the two organizations being most harmonious. I represented the Union in London in helping the British Committee perfect the plans for the Constance Conference and afterwards in developing the larger

international organization for the future which was there decided upon.

We co-operate always to the extent of our power with the other peace agencies, general and local,—the American Peace Society, the Massachusetts Peace Society, the International Conciliation Association, Lake Mohonk Conference, etc.,—to which we can lend a hand; and these co-operate with us. We arranged Dr. Gulick's campaign in Boston and Cambridge to enlighten our people upon the Japanese situation; almost the whole of our staff took part in the Springfield Peace Congress; and every grave exigency, like the present crisis and the Mexican situation, throws the various bodies into conference. The Mexican situation was most perplexing; but during the trying months I think that what we said and did, both in Boston and in Washington, especially at the time of the Tampico incident, was of distinct public service.

I took part in the New York Conference concerning the Third Hague Conference; and the present suspension of all thought of its meeting holds up the great instrumentality for transforming the present international anarchy into international order. In the regularizing and immense strengthening of the Hague Conferences and their conventions lies our hope; and until these become what they should become, the political world is without a center or any authoritative voice. The lack, in this twentieth century, of any adequate international instrumentalities to render impossible a situation like that resulting from the ruthless invasion of Belgium, an absolutely innocent country, entirely unrelated to the quarrel, accuses mankind.

This cannot go on; and I believe that, by very reason of this awful crisis, there are vastly more men in the world to-day than ever before who are resolved that it shall not go on. The war itself is preaching our gospel with greater power than we could ever do it. The militarists' argument, that great armaments are peace preservers, has absolutely broken down. These have proved, as we have so solemnly warned the nations, the great menace and not the true defense; and sobered men everywhere now see that the only possible solution is that which we have steadily urged. There are those who will not see it; and we deceive ourselves if we do not prepare for a stiff and long campaign against a powerful party which still strives to make the country draw the false lesson and push it, by demand for great armaments, into intensifying here the very evil which has wrought the ruin in Europe. The best thinkers and statesmen of England are at this hour seeking to direct the war itself into a campaign against the whole system of militarism and monstrous armaments. It would

not be less than a crime against humanity if we, at such an hour, safest of nations and never so safe as in the long exhaustion of all the European nations which must follow the war, should be betrayed into leading or supporting the forces of reaction, instead of leading bravely in the policy of progress.

The positive principles of reconstruction are not hard to discover or define. We have stated some of them in the simple manifesto which we issued last month, and others have stated them in almost the same words.* The peace party has no new platform of principles. It needs none; for its persistent teachings, so far from being shaken by this awful trial, have received from it their awful vindication. What the peace party does need is better organization, better methods, better aim, larger support and larger courage; and to these ends it is within the power of our Foundation to make conspicuous contributions.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

NOVEMBER 18, 1914.

*The conditions of any real or permanent peace, as agreed by almost all careful students of the crisis, are such as prescribe in the final settlement the following: no more appropriation of territory by victors in war; respect for the real interest and desire of the peaceful and orderly inhabitants of every province as to their political relations; no sowing of the seeds of revenge and future war; no more entangling alliances, but instead a real European concert; the putting of a stop to all armament rings and vested interests in war, by making all manufacture of armaments the office of the nation alone; the prohibition of loans to belligerents by neutral nations; the open and democratic control of treaties and foreign policy; and above all the drastic reduction of the monstrous armaments which are so largely responsible for the present awful catastrophe.

REPORT OF DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN

This brief statement of my work for the World Peace Foundation covers the period from November, 1913, to November, 1914. I spent the period from June, 1913, to October, 1914, in Europe, in study of the standing incentives to war and the influences making for peace. To this end, I visited nearly all the countries of Europe, with a view to first-hand knowledge of conditions.

In November and December, 1913, I gave series of lectures in opposition to militarism and in the interest of international friendliness and the rational settlement of differences between nations. In England and Scotland I gave 37 lectures of this sort, in most of the universities and in the principal cities. Similar lectures were also given, in German, at Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Mannheim and Munich. In the lectures in England and Germany I had the invaluable assistance of Dr. John Mez of Freiburg in Baden, president of the Corda Fratres or associated Cosmopolitan Clubs of the world, one of the wisest and most efficient of all the peace workers in Germany.

Going to Australia in January, on business of Stanford University, I gave eleven lectures in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in opposition to the war system. Returning in April, I went, in company with Dr. Mez, Mr. R. H. Markham, principal of the American School at Samakov, and my former secretary in California, Mr. Emil F. Hollmann, now Rhodes scholar at Oxford, to the Balkan region, Montenegro and Albania, which I had visited in October. In May we passed through Croatia, Servia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece. The conditions in Bulgaria and Macedonia were studied with considerable care. Through the courtesy of the Queen of Bulgaria and the Prime Minister, Dr. Radoslanoff, we were furnished with a large automobile for the road from Sofia to Petritsch on the frontier of Greek Macedonia. Transferred thence to the custody of the Greek army at the camp "Christos Aneste Hellas," we made our way to Demir-Hissar, and thence to Salonica, Covala, Constantinople and Athens. We were enabled to see much of the refugee problem, nearly half the people of Macedonia having been driven from their homes by the war and the subsequent disasters of the Treaty of London and the Treaty of Bucharest.

In Sofia I gave a number of lectures in opposition to war, one of

these being given at official request on "Bulgaria in the Eyes of Europe." Lectures were also given at Samakov, Salonica and Robert College in Constantinople.

Returning to France, I was for a time the guest in Paris of my valued friend, Dr. Joseph A. Rivière, president of the "Societé des Médecins contre la Guerre." Returning then to London, I made, in company with Mr. Robert Young of Kobe, Japan, and Mr. Hollmann, a tour of the counties of Ulster. Coming back to London on August first, I was detained there until September 12, when I took passage for Montreal. The London weeks were largely passed in co-operation with others of the Foundation in the service of the cause.

In this period I have published, with the co-operation of Dr. Harvey Ernest Jordan of the University of Virginia, a volume called "War's Aftermath" (Houghton Mifflin Company). This treats of the effect on the human breed of the war experiences of Virginia, with supplementary chapters on Macedonia and Belgium. In different periodicals, I have printed the following articles: "Standing Incentives to War" and "The Land of the Sleepless Watchdog," in the *Unpopular Review;* "Alsace-Lorraine; a Study in Conquest," in the *Atlantic Monthly;* "The Spirit of Alsace-Lorraine" and "The Liberation of Macedonia," in *Everyman* (Edinburgh); "The Problem of North Australia," *Review of Reviews* (Sydney). Numerous short articles have appeared in the papers of London, New York and Sydney, and the series of editorials entitled "What Shall We Say?" has been continued.

Since returning to America, I have given addresses on the lessons of the present war, at San Francisco (6), Palo Alto (2), Carmel, Denver, Chicago, Cornell University, Rochester (2), Buffalo (4), Swarthmore (2), Warsaw (2) and New York (12). About 20 other lecture engagements I have still to meet. My aim in all these lectures is to bring home to our people the true lessons of the present European crisis. The United States must take an important part in the settlement of the issues and may contribute signally to the reconstruction following the war. We must take a leading place in the peace work of the world, and to this end must create and maintain here a sound public opinion grounded upon moral principles and upon actual knowledge.

REPORT OF DR. CHARLES H. LEVERMORE

Since the submission of my last annual report, I have practically completed the work, at that time just begun, of securing a complete file of the calendars, catalogs or official circulars of all colleges and universities in the world outside of the United States and Canada. Only a few of the important institutions have failed, as yet, to respond. The majority of the small number that refused to send their catalogs to us gratuitously, indicated, in answer to our question, where such publications could be bought.

By the beginning of last summer we were in possession of the materials for an analytical study of the instruction in International Relations in colleges and universities of all nations. Such a study was begun with the intention of communicating this fall with all teachers of subjects in history, politics and social studies that touched upon any definite phase of modern international relations. The outbreak of the war interrupted this work, as it was manifestly unwise to engage in such correspondence with European teachers under existing circumstances. The analysis of instruction will, however, be finished this year, and at the first favorable opportunity we expect to revive the whole plan, now temporarily in abeyance. Meanwhile we have in our possession an array of the official publications of the institutions for higher education throughout the world that is probably not surpassed anywhere in our country; and we will gladly give to any inquirer, especially to those concerned with international interests, information about any or all of these institutions, about their staffs of instruction and their courses of study.

I report progress concerning the plan for several new text-books in International Relations, to be prepared under our auspices. This plan was outlined in last year's report, and it was there stated that we had invited the co-operation of a distinguished scholar and publicist. The promise of that co-operation has been secured, and we are now awaiting a final decision concerning certain practical details of the enterprise.

In order to satisfy demands arising from preparations to celebrate the Peace Centenary, I devoted considerable time last spring to the preparation of a historical study of the Anglo-American Agreement of 1817 concerning disarmament on the Great Lakes. A part of the results of this investigation was embodied in a pamphlet published

in our regular series. A quantity of material relevant to this subject could not be included within the limits of a small pamphlet. As the whole history of that Agreement offers an admirable example of the right way to prepare, in time of peace, to make peace permanent, I have devoted considerable time to this investigation, and I hope to be able in the near future to publish the results of these labors in book form. I may add that a copy of the pamphlet upon the Agreement has been sent, accompanied by a personal letter, to a professor of American history and politics in every college and university in this country and Canada. The Secretary of the Cobden Club in England wrote to express the hope that it might be possible to give the pamphlet a wide circulation in England. I have dwelt upon this subject at some length because I wish to emphasize the substantial assistance that our serial pamphlets have rendered and can render to the work of instruction in school and college class-rooms. In dealing with teachers of history and politics, it is necessary that I should bring something in my hand which they can use. The text-books which have been projected are important, yet it will take longer to win a place for them in educational work than for pamphlets which contain the fundamental reference-readings for the great international questions of the day. We should be in position to circulate many of our pamphlets in vastly larger numbers, upon certain occasions reaching the whole student body of the country. I have found during this year a wide appreciation, for the special purposes referred to, of Mr. Myers' pamphlets on Commissions of Inquiry and on Arbitration Treaties and the Work of the Hague Tribunal, of Mr. Allen's pamphlet on the Drain of Armaments, of Mr. Mead's pamphlet on the Hague Conferences, and the pamphlet containing the Instructions to the American delegates to those Conferences. No greater service has been rendered to teachers and students of international relations, and to all who desire to form a wise judgment about such relations, than the widespread publication in several pamphlet forms of the important diplomatic and political utterances attending the initial crash of the great war.

That catastrophe has undoubtedly produced an enormous increase of interest among our college and university students this fall in those studies in history and politics which throw light upon the war. We believe that the study of international relations, if wisely directed, is sure to produce strong advocates of world-organization for peace with justice under law. In that belief I addressed, during the last two months, letters to the presidents of nearly all our colleges,

universities and normal schools, to teachers of history and politics in the same institutions, to the directors of all our schools of journalism, and to the professors of oratory or elocution in each of the aforementioned institutions, calling their attention to the educational value, at this crisis of affairs, of certain publications by ourselves and others (Letters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).* This correspondence has already produced many new demands for our literature.

In order to reach the coming generation, we must influence the teachers, and therefore no part of this work has seemed to us more necessary and timely than our effort to enter the schools where teachers are trained. As a preliminary to the correspondence above referred to, I made an analytical study of the work in history and politics which is now offered in the teachers' training schools, normal schools and colleges in the United States. The latest report of the United States Commissioner of Education (1913) enumerates 284 public and private normal training schools, with 94,455 students, all of whom are preparing to teach in primary and secondary schools. Only 2,000 of this number are in the kindergarten training courses. Adding the normal colleges and universities which the Commissioner lists under another classification, we have in round numbers 300 normal schools and colleges in the country, with 100,000 students. This office has heard from almost exactly 200 of these institutions, and has their official publications on file. Very few of the larger and more important schools are missing from our list.

In general terms, all normal schools offer a two years' course above the high school graduation. Many of them give full high school courses themselves, and the larger and better equipped normal schools and colleges offer a variety of courses for different purposes of training, varying from one year courses to three and four year courses. The latter customarily lead to the usual degrees. The circulars of the normal schools are not always so generous as college catalogs usually are concerning the exact contents of the courses of study and concerning administrative details. The great majority of normal

*These circular notes, which were of a most careful character, are not here printed, but the context makes their purpose plain. Out of the mass of correspondence received in answer to the letters sent out this fall, a few expressions—and a score might be added—from the letters now lying on my desk may be interesting, simply as showing the hospitality and cordiality with which our efforts are met: From W. N. Sheats, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Florida: "I thank you for your letter, which discusses a subject in which all school men should be interested. I shall write for some of your publications, which will he helpful to me and some of the school workers of the State." From Charles McKenny, President State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.: "The State Normal College is taking a lively interest in the Peace Movement." From W. S. Dearmont, President State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo.: "I am in hearty sympathy with your suggestion of the need of a public opinion trained to support judicial rather than violent methods of settling international differences. We will use in this Normal School every means possible to further this end, including the suggestions that you make." From H. N. Sherwood, Professor of European History, State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.: "I am contributing to our local paper from time to time articles on the war. Some of our students are competing for prizes and are writing on the subject of Peace. I lecture weekly to the students on the various phases of the war. For these reasons I shall appreciate every pamphlet, broadside, etc., which you care to send me."

school students have had in their preparatory training the usual high school instruction in ancient history, general European or English history and United States history with civics. All normal schools, except an inconsiderable minority, require additional study of American history and elementary civics as a part of the professional work.

It is gratifying to find that one-fifth of these schools, more precisely, 43 out of 200, offer also instruction in advanced civics, or constitutional history and law, or something more than elementary political science, or in all of these subjects. Advanced work in civics or government is given at the State Normal Schools in Jacksonville, Ala.; Flagstaff, Ariz.; Conway, Ark.; Greeley, Col.; Carbondale and DeKalb, Ill.; Terre Haute, Ind.; Moorhead, St. Cloud and Winona, Minn.; Trenton, N.J.; all normal schools in Oklahoma; Aberdeen, Madison and Springfield, So. Dakota; Johnson City and Memphis, Tenn.; Huntsville, Tex.; Farmville, Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg, Va.; Fairmont, W.Va.; and La Crosse, Wis. Courses in various phases of political science that seem to compare favorably with the usual offerings of colleges and universities are found in the normal schools or colleges at Normal, Ill.; Cedar Falls, Ia.; Emporia, Hays and Pittsburg, Kan.; Mt. Pleasant and Ypsilanti, Mich.; Hattiesburg, Miss.; Cape Girardeau, Kirksville, Maryville and Springfield, Mo.; Wayne, Neb.; Albany and New York, N.Y.; Valley City, No. Dakota; Athens, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Rock Hill, So. Carolina. Especially noteworthy is the program at Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls. The courses are offered by terms of twelve weeks and are usually worth either a five or three hour credit. In the strictly normal work there are five courses in history, two courses in civics, and one in economics, all at five hours. In the courses leading to a degree there are ten courses in history, ten courses in political science, and thirteen in economics, including sociology.

Twenty institutions among the 200 conduct classes in current events or contemporary history. Such courses this year will necessarily direct attention especially to the forces that have maintained and embittered the forty years' armed peace of Europe, and have thus condemned that unfortunate continent to "the insanity of war." These twenty institutions, so widely distributed that the list is worthy of consideration, are:—

State Normal School, Conway, Ark., Current Events, in connection with class in Civics.

State Normal School, San Diego, Cal., "Development of Contemporary Civilization," one semester, three hours.

State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Ia., two three-hour courses in contemporary history, with special mention of the "United States as a world power."
State Normal School, Emporia, Kan., Current History, one semester, three hours.
State Normal School, Kalamazoo, Mich., Current History, one term, with Methods.
State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich., Current History, one term.
State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo., Current Events, one term.
State Normal School, Maryville, Mo., Nineteenth Century History, one term, Hazen's text-book.
State Normal School, Warrensburg, Mo., Current Events, based on periodicals.
State Normal School, Dillon, Mont., Nineteenth Century History.
State Normal School, Peru, Neb., Nineteenth Century History.
State Normal School, Newark, N.J., Current Events, one hour a week for the year, based on newspapers.
State Normal School, Silver City, New Mex., Current Events, one hour a week for the year.
State Normal College, Albany, N.Y., Nineteenth Century History, two hours.
Hunter College, New York, N.Y., Nineteenth Century History, three hours, one year.
Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Girls, Rock Hill, So. Carolina, Recent United States History, A. C. Coolidge's "United States as a World Power."
State Normal School, Springfield, So. Dakota, Current Events, with a one-term course in South Dakota history.
State Normal School, Canyon, Tex., Current Events, one term, specially mentions "the Peace movement."
State Normal School, San Marcos, Tex., Current History, one term.
Normal School of Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah, Current History, one term, five hours.

It is evident that much of the work in Current Events will produce, as already in one case mentioned, the direct discussion of the issue of War *vs.* Peace and World-Organization. Seven of these institutions also approach the cause that we have at heart from another angle, and offer instruction in International Law or International Relations. The Normal College of the North American Gymnastic Union at Indianapolis, a league of gymnastic societies founded by some of the German immigrants of 1848, and maintaining this college of physical education still under German influence, gives a brief course in International Relations in connection with a class in the history of the N. A. G. U., one semester, one hour. The spirit in which this instruction is given appears in the concluding paragraphs of a remarkable "Declaration of Principles" of the N. A. G. U. which is sent out with the catalog of the college. One paragraph is as follows:—

> History evidences the gradual growth of the supremacy of right over might in the relations between individuals as well as in those between states and nations. In our opinion the time is ripe for a more extensive application of this principle. For this reason we favor the settlement of all international disputes by judicial proceedings and the support of all endeavors toward the elimination of all conflicts between nations and toward a harmonious organization of all mankind.

The State Normal School at Emporia, Kan., offers a semestral two-hour course in International Relations, and a similar course in the history of American Diplomacy, with special mention of "arbitration treaties." The Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls offers its usual one-term five-hour course in International Law. Semestral three-hour courses in the same subject are given in the State Normal School at Wayne, Neb., and in the New York State Normal College at Albany. A similar four-hour course is given in the Colored Normal University at Langston, Okla., and a course in American Diplomacy is offered in the State Normal School at Bowling Green, Ky. Of these seven institutions, two, the one in Indiana and the one in Kentucky, do not appear in either of the other lists.

The promotion of intelligent and systematic instruction in the subject of international relations in the normal schools of the country is hardly second in importance to its promotion in our colleges and universities; and in a visit to the educational institutions in several of the Southern states, which I am now planning, I hope to devote equal attention to both.

NOVEMBER 21, 1914.

REPORT OF DR. GEORGE W. NASMYTH

Education represents the most important force, with the possible exception of religion, that can be enlisted in support of the peace cause. In the universities, and among students especially, we are dealing with the foundations of public opinion. On account of the importance and the magnitude of the student field, including 200,000 students in the 600 colleges and universities of America, and 500,000 students, "The Picked Half Million," as William T. Stead called them, in the universities of the world, I have divided my time during the past year between the actual work among students and the still more important task of preparation for the great expansion of the work in the university field which lies before us in the near future.

With the exception of about three months spent in England and Germany with Mr. Mead, my activities have been centered during the year in the American university field. They consisted in the formation of International Polity Clubs in the most important universities of the East, and in strengthening the Cosmopolitan Clubs wherever my services were needed; in arranging and assisting in conferences on the educational aspects of the peace movement; in

delivering about 100 addresses in universities and colleges, before student clubs and other societies, churches, peoples' forums, etc.; and in the writing of articles for student publications and other periodicals. The work of preparation has consisted in the intensive study of the student field and its special requirements, in the drawing up of a comprehensive plan for peace work in the educational field, in special studies of international economics and international law, and in the preparation of two books approaching the peace problem from the social aspect, in which there is such a deep interest among the students of all countries: "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory" and "The New Testament as a Social Document." These books will probably be published during the coming year.

In co-operation with the American Association for International Conciliation, advantage was taken of the lecture tour of Norman Angell last spring to distribute many thousand copies of his Open Letter to the American Student and to form International Polity Clubs for the study and discussion of the peace question, at Cornell, Harvard, Yale, Columbia and Princeton universities. The procedure followed in each case was in accordance with the plan outlined in my report of last year. An energetic campaign of literature and publicity was followed by a mass meeting of from 600 to 1,000 students, addressed by Norman Angell, and the interest and enthusiasm thus aroused were then crystallized in the form of a definite organization of from 60 to 100 students in each university, to continue the work of study and propaganda. At Harvard University, in addition to the International Polity Club, which carries on the more intensive study of international problems, an International Polity Federation has been formed, consisting of ten undergraduate organizations which are interested in international relations, such as the Cosmopolitan Club, the Diplomatic Club, the Undergraduate Economic Society, the History Club, the Social Politics Club, etc., and joint meetings were held throughout the term, dealing with the peace problem from the various aspects in which these clubs are especially interested. Among the speakers who have rendered special aid to this Federation and to the other International Polity Clubs are Hamilton Holt, Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, President Charles W. Eliot and Edwin D. Mead. With proper resources, literature, speakers and field secretaries for the detail work of organization, the international movement could be similarly organized in one hundred of the most important American colleges and universities in the course of the next few years, and would contribute most effectively to the formation of "the international mind" and an enlightened public opinion on international relations

among the leaders of American life of the next generation. During the months of December and January I am planning a tour of the colleges and universities of the Middle West, making addresses and organizing study groups and clubs; and I hope to follow this up with tours of the colleges of New England, of the South and of other sections of the country, until I am in close touch with student groups in every important American university. This will be in full co-operation with the work of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, which already reaches more than a hundred colleges and universities.

The Cosmopolitan Clubs, which have been established in nearly every institution attended by a large number of foreign students, are essentially a part of the peace movement, not only because of their inevitable influence in developing the international mind and their direct work for international friendship and understanding among the students of so many different countries, but on account of their efforts to realize the splendid ideal which they have adopted as their watchword, "Above all Nations is Humanity." Whenever I have been called upon I have been glad to give every aid in my power to strengthening these clubs, helping them to secure speakers, and in some cases to secure permanent quarters with the aid of their university authorities, and assisting them in other ways. During the year I have been able to visit about a dozen of these clubs personally, and I shall continue to render every aid possible to one of the most interesting and potential international movements in the student world. Before the outbreak of the war I visited a number of the international clubs, recently established through my endeavors in the German universities, and I shall endeavor to assist this promising German student movement to establish itself again on a firm basis as soon as peace is restored.

The demand which has been made upon the International Bureau of Students, by American students intending to study abroad and by foreign students wishing to study in the United States, for information in regard to courses of study, traveling fellowships, etc., and the requests from student organizations for literature upon International Relations and for speakers, etc., are indications of the great opportunity which could be utilized if the Bureau were properly equipped. Projects for securing adequate financial support for the Bureau are being worked out, and I hope it will prove practicable to put some of them into effect during the coming year. Direct relationship has been established with American students in the German universities, with the Rhodes scholars at Oxford, as well as with the various organizations of foreign students in the American universities. In this work the cordial co-operation which has been

possible with John R. Mott and D. Willard Lyon of the Committee to Promote Friendly Relations among Foreign Students and with Secretary F. P. Keppel of the American Association for International Conciliation, has been especially fruitful.

The conferences connected with the student work in which I have taken part during the year include the Conference on Latin America at Clark University, the Northfield Student Conference, the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, the Conference and Summer School of International Polity organized by Norman Angell at William Penn's old home in England (July 17–27), the Church Peace Conference at Constance and London (August 1–5), the Peace Conference of the Religious Society of Friends at Llandudno, Wales (September 25–30), etc. In connection with the larger meeting at Lake Mohonk, I arranged a special educational conference on the Promotion of Internationalism in the Universities and Colleges, which had important results. Many valuable suggestions were contributed by Dr. Andrew D. White, by Mr. Mead, who presided, Prof. John Bassett Moore, Prof. George G. Wilson, Prof. S. F. Weston, Dr. John R. Mott, Louis P. Lochner and others who are authorities on the student field; and as a result of the Conference a Continuation Committee was appointed, consisting of Edwin D. Mead, chairman, Dr. Andrew D. White, John R. Mott, Hamilton Holt, and myself as secretary. This Committee is working out a comprehensive plan for winning the foundations of public opinion for the cause of international progress through affecting our college life and education. This plan, which is, of course, co-ordinate with what we are doing in our College and University department at the Foundation, includes specially prepared literature for the student field, the organization of international clubs in the most important colleges and universities in the United States, courses of lectures on international relations by recognized authorities traveling through the universities, prize essay competitions to stimulate the study and discussion of international problems, and the strengthening of existing student organizations, such as the Cosmopolitan Clubs, by furnishing them with lecturers, literature, lantern slides, traveling libraries, etc. We hope that it may be possible for the Foundation to assist the Intercollegiate Peace Association to secure a richer and broader basis by establishing student groups or clubs in all the colleges where the Association has already strong supporters; and to promote extension work by student leaders from the universities, and the holding of conferences and summer schools on International Relations. Special attention is called to the importance of the work in the rising schools of journalism;

and our educational plans always include correlating and extending the work in the primary schools and in the high schools and normal schools of the country through the American School Peace League. We seek to secure, in a comprehensive and effective manner, the co-operation and co-ordination of all the forces making for international progress in the educational field.

The project for holding a summer school of international relations during the three weeks immediately following the college year in June, referred to in Mr. Mead's report, is of special importance in view of the increasing demand for trained leaders in this field. The invaluable experience gained at Norman Angell's Summer School of International Polity in England has added to my conviction of the effectiveness of this method of training, especially when conducted under the leadership of men with a genius for teaching such as is possessed in such pre-eminent degree by Mr. Angell. Besides the group of ten students from America, the Summer School in England was attended by student leaders who had done advanced work in the field of international relations in France, Germany and other countries; and about fifty carefully selected students from the International Polity Clubs at Oxford, Cambridge, London, Manchester, etc., made up the remainder of the group. The mornings were devoted to a forceful presentation of the case of the militarists by some such well-known leader as the Secretary of the Navy League, or a representative of the National Service League, and was followed by an extended discussion by the students to give them training in the analysis of arguments and in debate. The afternoons were devoted to searching discussions of methods of work and study, literature and questions of organization and propaganda; and the evenings to the more constructive side of the movement, introduced in an address by an authority, such as Dr. Jordan, Mr. Mead, John M. Robertson, M.P., etc., and followed by discussions of the scientific aspects of practical questions such as the neutralization of private property at sea, world federation, the economic effects of war indemnities, etc. If the services of Mr. Angell could be obtained for some sessions of the summer school which we contemplate, it would be fortunate indeed. There can be no more effective method than that here considered of training leaders for the great expansion of the peace movement and the decisive contest between militarism and civilism which is approaching its critical stage not only in America but in all the countries of the world. It is in our power immensely to broaden such activities beyond anything heretofore planned or possible. Our student constituency, the body of young men and women

earnestly enlisted in our cause, is already very large and is rapidly growing. It has rightly been said that the 400 students now annually competing in the oratorical contests of the Intercollegiate Peace Association might soon be made 4,000; and this is but one representative body. It is for us to hold them for the cause, to inform and educate and inspire them for larger and more definite service; and in this work the summer school may be made to perform a distinct and valuable part.

The breakdown of civilization in Europe this year has brought to many students, as to myself, a new consecration to the cause of peace and world organization, and I am convinced that there is in the universities a great store of spiritual energy waiting only to be released and directed into effective channels.

NOVEMBER 21, 1914.

REPORT OF DENYS P. MYERS

The broadening of all established fields of peace work and the constant arising of new duties in this eventful time have made my own activities far greater than in any previous year. Those activities have been in: (1) office routine; (2) investigations connected closely with the peace movement; (3) investigations of more technical character for government uses; (4) service of information for students and inquirers.

1. The distribution of literature and the devising of methods to make it more effective is an important part of the propagandist work, while attention to special requests takes much time and thought. With the steady increase of our work and multiplication of our publications, a completer and more descriptive list became necessary for maximum of service; and the list prepared has proved most valuable. Kept constantly up to date, it puts one in touch at once with our publications and their scope. By observing the character of the requests prompted by this list, it is possible to get a clearer idea of the trend of public interest. Material regarding armaments and militarism has maintained a consistent lead over all other subjects, that relating to churches coming next.

Our library has greatly increased during the year by the accession of standard works, but more particularly of current publications of importance in our work. The peace idea is inspiring an increasing number of writers, and the output of books the past year relating

directly to it has been double that of any previous year. To make our collection as complete as possible, many such books are purchased. We steadily procure special monographs on public questions, like publications on the European war. We now have sets practically complete of the publications of the International Peace Bureau, "The Peacemaker," and the French, German, Swedish and Danish peace societies; and we have sets running far back of the American Peace Society and the British publications, while all periodicals, reports and occasional publications of recent years have been received.

The suggestion in my last report of closer co-operation between peace organizations in the exchange of literature has been realized. Working jointly with the Carnegie Endowment's Division of Intercourse and Education, we polled the organizations, and as a result prepared sets of address labels, now in the hands of all peace agencies, which are thus enabled to reach various associates with minimum effort. The service tends greatly to co-ordinate work.

The distribution of our literature, which increased normally until the outbreak of the European war, then trebled so far as casual requests were concerned, and so is likely to continue. The standardizing of form and the presence now of permanent sets of our publications in more than a thousand libraries throughout the world help meet the demand, enabling extra hundreds to consult our publications.

I have prepared in manuscript an index to the 20 Reports of the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration which have been issued, and this index awaits publication. With the increasing interest in the peace cause manifested among colleges and schools and among clergymen, such helps for consultation should be made for the movement generally. Our own Pamphlet Series should be indexed quinquennially, and a series of bibliographies should be issued. Work has been done along this line, but it should be increased, opening larger fields to the inquirer. For the Church Peace Union I have transcribed the titles of all publications possessed by us.

An interesting experiment made during the year was that of a peace exhibit. Prepared for a single Illinois fair, it was eventually sent to two other places, and reports indicate that it opened a most useful line of endeavor. At comparatively small cost, such an exhibit can be made to reach hundreds with whom peace organizations do not come into direct contact, teaching graphically the underlying ideas of the movement.

2. It is upon the international law side that I feel my most important work is being done. The peace movement is no longer a

rule-of-thumb propaganda; it is a socio-political science, new as such and still lacking in definiteness of method. We work for two ends: the instilling of peace convictions into the minds of the people and the translation of those convictions into political action against militarism. The problem is to remodel antiquated nationalistic mechanism so that it will respond to the demands of a period of real internationalism. To know what it is possible to accomplish to this end at a given time is more than a matter of judgment; it is a matter of accurate knowledge of international politics. Such knowledge it is the aim of the office always to acquire and to disseminate.

The peace party should be a national political force. Their stand on proposed legislation should be as definite and as distinctly heard as that of the most selfish interest which maintains a lobby. To encourage such a stand and help give it a basis, I began furnishing to "The Advocate of Peace" in February a careful list of measures pending in Congress on which peace people should express themselves. The periodical preparation of this list involves a large amount of work, of which going over the 10,000 pages of a session's Congressional Records is but the beginning. Another practical feature is the interesting of Congressmen in desired measures and securing their introduction. A number of such measures have been worked out and introduced under these conditions. This is a very profitable work for us to cultivate and one the development of which greatly interests me. As an international organization we are in a position to prompt similar efforts in other countries; and I have made some progress toward this end by furnishing suggestions which could be introduced under certain national conditions. With proper co-operation abroad this activity can be made exceedingly useful in turning the world's face away from war.

None can realize the complication of the problems with which we have to deal without extensive study. Such study is imperative for a firm basis of action in international matters; and this we aim to promote in every possible circle. My writing is directed mostly toward rendering easily accessible information of importance to our interest. The pamphlet on "The Commission of Inquiry: The Wilson-Bryan Peace Plan" is a case in point. Giving the history of this piece of conciliatory machinery up to its development into the American treaties for the advancement of peace, it serves both the student and those casually interested in this most remarkable diplomatic effort in connection with better international relations. A similar study of disarmament is under way, in the belief that it will serve a good purpose if it is generally known what real advances

have been made toward disarmament. Running at this time in the *American Journal of International Law* is a two-part article on "The Origin of the Hague Arbitral Courts"; and elsewhere publication is to be made of the material I have brought together on the violation of treaties. This is part of a lengthy study of "The Extinction of Treaties," which is being revised for immediate publication. In the January, 1914, number of the *American Journal of International Law* I published an extensive study of "Representation in Public International Organs"; and for the last meeting of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of Disputes, I prepared a careful paper on "The Composition of the Hague Arbitral Court," the only problem of the Court's existence remaining for solution and therefore the crucial problem. The preparation of an English pamphlet describing the work of the Union of International Associations was one of my pleasant privileges. A careful analysis of the actual cost of recent wars is under way; and investigations are progressing on constitutional provisions in all countries for declaring war, on the statistics of financial interdependence, and the reference clauses of existing arbitration treaties. A two-volume study of the Moroccan international problem is ready for the publisher.

The suggestion mentioned in my last report of an endowment for histories of international crises has come to no definite result, though the idea has been transmitted to leaders in international affairs throughout the world and has met with approval. At the present moment we are witnessing the value of such work in the extensive publication of documents and discussion relating to the outbreak of the European war. It remains only to show the value of this kind of material in lesser events, and the series proposed will be realized.

3. A development of no mean importance has taken place in our relations with ministries of foreign affairs. The maintenance of peace in official quarters depends on successfully solving the problems that arise from day to day. The Institute of International Law paved the way for the Hague Conferences by its sound projects on specific subjects capable of large treatment. The Carnegie Endowment's Division of International Law is aiding this work and in a generous manner providing documentary and other material. A minor but very important field remains uncovered. Ministries are necessarily concerned with routine diplomatic affairs at the expense of broad study of means to improve international conditions generally. Those bridges are, with casual exceptions, crossed when they are reached. But every ministry is seriously concerned with the improvement of conditions, and practical suggestions or projects

properly documented and drafted are, on their own authority as a result of inquiry, of great service to them. During the year I have devoted much effort to preparing such suggestions on problems immediately capable of solution; and they have met with flattering responses, which cannot be detailed, for such activities must necessarily be confidential. One instance may be given on account of its now having lost all practical value. Last winter a remarkable anti-Russian press campaign took place in Germany, meeting with an anti-German response from Russia. No echoes of it reached America, and European papers were puzzled by it. The reason, however, was very definite. Within a short time the Russo-German commercial treaty was to be renewed after ten years of vigor. This treaty was exacted during the Russo-Japanese war and was Germany's price for neutrality. It was very favorable to Germany and unfavorable to Russia. The struggle for commercial advantage in negotiations would be keen, and the press campaign was intended as a preliminary skirmish. I was convinced that bitterness endangering peace would be engendered and therefore, citing each country's arbitration record, suggested to the two foreign offices that an arbitration treaty between the two neighbors would serve to take up much of the shock of such disputes. I submitted the records also to international thinkers in the respective countries. The project was progressing politically when the events leading to the European war rendered the whole thing abortive.

In the same connection I am working out in detail a project to consolidate all international official administrative organs; for, if nothing more of the federation of the world is obtainable at the peace conference to end the war, so much is practicable, and its realization will be made surer by having the material in systematic form with the governments. The documents emanating from that conference will become in large measure the international constitution of Europe. In the past such documents—the Treaties of Vienna of 1815 or of Berlin of 1878, for instance—have been whittled away by time and change. To prevent this, the arbitration of questions of interpretation or application of the treaty—the only phase of arbitration to which all the belligerents are committed by practice—and provision for review and revision should be included in the final act; and I have transmitted this suggestion to quarters where it may have practical value. If, when that conference occurs, a few carefully selected men experienced both in international law and international affairs could be present to urge upon the plenipotentiaries the considerations which the peace party everywhere believe necessary,

that delegation could not fail to accomplish much of permanent value. I beg leave to suggest this as one of the things we should undertake.

4. In my last report I referred to the Foundation's information service. This office is, I believe, the peace agency best equipped to supply definite information to the inquirer, or specific assistance to the investigator. The value of the work to meet this need, often laborious, cannot be doubted; for, as it becomes more generally known that we hold ourselves ready in this respect, inquiries multiply. Were it not, indeed, for the number of queries answerable by printed matter on hand, this service would require half the day's work. Questions are of the most varied character, frequently requiring technical replies; and every mail evidences how greatly this service enlarges our influence.

NOVEMBER 21, 1914.

REPORT OF ALBERT G. BRYANT

Until May my efforts were divided mainly between the State Commissions of the Foundation, the local Chambers of Commerce and the Grange, and co-operation with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Owing to the developments in our foreign affairs our State Commissions have proved of more value to us in the interest of stable international relations than we anticipated in their inception. On a number of conspicuous occasions these representative men in the various states exercised their influence in what were critical situations for our government. During the winter and spring, no more significant expressions of support and suggestion were received by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan than those sent by these leading citizens of the states. In a number of instances the commissions sent resolutions from important meetings, but these were scarcely of greater value than expressions from individuals to the administration. Such action was taken chiefly in connection with the Mexican situation, being practically unanimous in support of the policy of non-intervention by force of arms and in a strict endeavor to inspire in all nations south of us the growing confidence merited by our persistently friendly attitude toward Mexico. A large number of these commissioners also did much to create the right public opinion through addresses and editorials. Much the same work was done in connection with the determination of our position in the Panama Canal Tolls exemption legislation, although there was here

more division of opinion. It was a noteworthy evidence of the timely service rendered by these men, when one of the members of the Tennessee Commission submitted to the Commission a proposition to recommend to the State Department the tender of good offices to the European nations. This action was taken several days prior to President Wilson's declaration, and serves to show how the energies of the Foundation may be multiplied. I arranged with the Redpath Lyceum Bureau of Chicago for our cause to be represented on their circuit last summer by Mr. Wardner Williams, chairman of our Colorado Commission. Throughout the Middle West he lectured on "War and Peace" in many of the largest cities, effectively carrying our message at no expense to us. A number of prominent men in other Commissions have lectured in less organized ways. One of the most influential daily papers of the West has long printed in its Sunday edition an article written by some member of our Commission in that state. By keeping in touch with the boards already organized and hastening the establishment of those in other states, the Foundation should have scores of voices and pens throughout the country repeating the same message that is told by those actively engaged in our office and going out from it. The matter which concerns us is the business of the people as well as of the peace organizations. It is for us to lead them in well-directed and better organized co-operation. The peace movement is no longer a separate propaganda, but is interwoven in the vital interests of everybody, and for it the people at large must be made responsible. Our Commissions are now established in ten states, Alabama, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, and Tennessee; and I am about to visit several of the Southern states, to extend the organization there.

One of the most useful and practical duties of our work is to co-operate with the forces of existing organizations. Few of my efforts have been more satisfying than the assistance I have rendered the men of our National Chamber of Commerce in their endeavor to make more efficient in world affairs the work of the International Chamber. One of the best instruments for securing and maintaining stable international relations is the co-operation and frequent association of the business men of the world. Lack of mutual understanding on the part of the peoples has in no small degree been responsible for friction and war. To assist our National Chamber in its efforts to make it possible, through the establishment of a permanent office of the International Chamber, to have important world questions considered by business men in all the nations, I attended in behalf

of the Foundation the sixth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce at Paris in June. Being elected secretary of the American delegation, I had abundant opportunity to urge the importance of this action at the Congress on the delegates from our country. The proposition carefully prepared by Mr. Edward A. Filene and Mr. John H. Fahey of Boston and others was so enthusiastically supported by the Americans and Englishmen that the unanimously favorable vote upon its presentation had a tremendous moral effect on the floor of the Congress, made up of 2,000 delegates from 28 countries. A democratic spirit was born in that organization, and walls of suspicion were largely destroyed. It should be the business of peace organizations to do all in their power to make the International Chamber efficient.

Since the beginning of August the war has created such widespread interest in our movement that great demands have been made on the office for speakers. Many opportunities have presented themselves, and in some places study courses have been started. I prepared an itinerary for Dr. Jordan, who is spending four weeks in the East and Middle West, speaking to Chambers of Commerce, universities and men's clubs; and the influence of this will be large.

I am now working with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in an effort to unite the business men of the neutral nations in a proposition for a better basis of international relations, to be submitted at the propitious time to the business men of the belligerents. We are co-operating with the State Department at Washington, and shall put such action into effect on the advice of the Secretary. This united action on the part of business men in many nations should operate in a distinctly significant manner at the close of the war; and this is one of the most practical things which the peace people can support at present.

Because of the war and the depletion of the countries involved, because of the presence of influential men from many nations in San Francisco, making possible effective conferences, and because of the increasing importance of our friendly relations with Japan, I feel that we should organize a strong campaign in the Pacific Coast states during the spring; and I am planning important meetings there for March, April and May. There are now strong men there on whom we may depend for help in creating the right attitude toward the Orient, so extremely necessary at the present hour.

The European war has taught people more in three months than we could do in many years. It has created an almost universal sentiment in this country against war, has enlightened people's

appreciation of the necessity of a different basis for world interests, and has inspired a desire to assist in the establishment of that basis. Our chief concern, therefore, is happily not the creation of sentiment, but rather practical support by all for our government in the critical situation in which it finds itself and will find itself when hostilities cease. Our aim should be to assemble and make increasingly effective all forces in behalf of right international relations, gratefully recognizing that the war has created an immense increase of true sentiment, and that the people are more and more earnest in our great cause.

NOVEMBER 21, 1914.

REPORT OF MRS. ANNA STURGES DURYEA

The Department of Women's Organizations, while covering in its activities all the ground which has been covered during the previous five years, has made a more distinct gain than during any preceding year. I have written more letters, distributed more literature, arranged more lectures, taken part in more active work, been able to present larger phases of our subject, and spoken to larger audiences than ever before. The continuous and far-reaching work of the various peace organizations arouses a more general interest in our subject as time goes on. We would not claim an undue share in the general achievement. It would be impossible, however, since our Woman's Department holds the place which it does in the organization of woman's work for peace in this country, that its influence should not be widely felt and its services largely demanded. We have been in communication with workers in every State in the Union during the year and have co-operated with practically all of our great women's organizations. By arrangements made in the early summer our activities would have been definitely extended in an international organization, if the plan had not been delayed by the outbreak of the war.

I have worked with the National and State Federations of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of Patriots and Founders, the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Association, Church organizations, the Camp Fire Girls, high and normal schools, Women's colleges and preparatory schools, College Alumnæ associations, and College and University clubs. In some rather extended periods of

work in different localities, taking me to a distance from headquarters, some of the able lecturers of our Foundation have kindly helped by meeting some of my engagements. There have been occasions, indeed, when one has gone in one direction, and another to a second audience, while I filled a third engagement, the same evening, as a result of the interest of women in our work. I have given a hundred lectures and arranged for many more.

Last winter, till January 15, was spent in New England. The two following months, till March 15, were divided between New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. Addresses were made before various organizations at these centers, and many persons were interviewed and advised. Through the interest of the Pennsylvania Peace and Arbitration Society and the careful arrangement of Mr. J. Augustus Cadwallader, the secretary of the Society, eight engagements were arranged in and about Philadelphia. The spring months were busy months in New England again. In May I was called to New York to speak before a splendid audience of 1,200 of the representative women of New York and vicinity, comprising the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, met for their annual spring meeting, in the grand ball-room of the Hotel Astor. In June I went to Chicago to address the Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs—10,000 women attended the convention—in the Auditorium Theatre.

Three weeks during the summer months were spent at Chautauqua, chiefly for the purpose of reaching, through the courtesy of Mrs. B. T. Vincent, president of the very cosmopolitan Woman's Club of Chautauqua, its many members, who come from all parts of this country and from other countries. A number of addresses were made, others were arranged, many people from widely distant points were interviewed regarding work, and literature was freely distributed. Chautauqua is a splendid center for easily reaching many kinds of people from many kinds of places, and the Foundation would act wisely in having a representative there every summer during the six weeks of the regular session.

During the quieter weeks of the summer I selected Greenwich, Conn., as the center of a very important neighborhood extending from New York to New Haven, as my headquarters. It is a section which is active both summer and winter and has previously received little attention in our work. I reached clubs, D. A. R.'s, public and private schools, churches, libraries, newspaper offices, and socialist organizations in such centers as New Haven, Bridgeport, Norwalk, Greenwich, and Stamford, and spoke in the early fall in such towns

as Southport, Westport, West Haven and other suburbs of the larger towns. I had literature sent to many places and made a series of lecture engagements for the coming winter. It was the most profitable summer work I have been able to do. During the period the war cloud burst; but though interest seemed paralyzed for a few weeks, it has revived more actively than ever. The Woman's Peace Parade for New York was undertaken at that time, and I was among the members of the Committee of One Hundred for its arrangement, and worked among the women of the country about Greenwich to arouse their interest in protesting against the war.

Early in October, at the invitation of Mrs. Ruth C. Williams of the Buffalo Peace Society, I went to Buffalo to address the New York State Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Association. I have spoken to many of these organizations in the past, but felt there this fall, during the stress of the great war, the deepest and most intelligent interest in our cause for the teaching of the children of our country that I have anywhere met. A series of addresses in Buffalo at this time was desired, but engagements elsewhere compelled postponement of this service until some later time. I have just addressed the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs at their fall meeting in Binghamton, and a mass meeting of women in New Haven, at which Governor Baldwin also spoke. I emphasized the practical work which women may do in organizing for definite effort in our cause at this critical hour.

My calendar has lecture engagements until next June; and there has never been a time when there was so much deep and intelligent enthusiasm for the cause of peace as now in this season of terrible war. Even before the conflict began, the earlier part of the year showed a marked increase in studied and careful work in many organizations. The creation of Peace committees, the extension of practical peace work, the interest of national leaders,—Mrs. Pennybacker, president of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. William Cummings Story, president general of the Daughters of the Revolution, and many others,—show a great gain in understanding of the work and appreciation of its great significance. This being true in so many cases, it is the more surprising, and is somewhat discouraging, that many strong and enthusiastic women who are anxious to work for the cause of peace are so entirely unenlightened regarding the aims and purposes of the peace organizations that they are unable to make any practical use of our help. Many most earnest women feel that their international interest can now only be shown by working for the Red Cross and sending aid to Belgium. Many

feel that the peace movement has been a failure; and within a week I have been warmly thanked by an audience of women who, when I arrived in town, greeted me with depressed faces. One could not imagine that there was anything a peace speaker could say to them. They were greatly relieved to be clearly shown that it was not the peace movement, but militarism, that had demonstrated itself a failure, and that there was the clearest hope for the future.

While we were disappointed at the meeting of the Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs at Chicago in June because the Peace Sub-Committee of the Committee of Education did not become an independent committee, the Sub-Committee has, under Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles of California, accomplished much in the two years of its existence, and much more may be expected in the two years to come. Twenty-one states have created Peace Sub-Committees of the Education Committee, New York, let it be here mentioned with warm approval, having created an entirely independent committee for this work. In time the other states must follow this example; but during the past two years splendid work has been done by the California Committee, under its State chairman, Mrs. Cumberson, Georgia under Miss Alice Baxter, and Pennsylvania under Miss Matilda Orr Hays. This is a beginning of the sort of effort which will be growingly effective. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead's active association with the Massachusetts Peace Society and the establishment under Miss Marion Tilden Burritt of a Woman's Department of the New York Peace Society are additional and welcome signs of a wholesome growth of interest. Expressions of readiness for active work have come this summer from Ohio, from Canada, and other promising fields. The Foundation needs more workers to meet this growing demand. Chicago especially should be made headquarters for peace work for women throughout a large region.

The need to associate more closely the activities of the women of this and other countries for the purpose of strengthening our cause is, I am happy to report, just now in a measure being met. The organization of a national committee representing our peace organizations and some others which are working for peace is just now accomplished. This committee will be associated with the National and International Councils of Women and will, in spite of the war, really launch that strong international effort which our movement has so long required. This among other hopeful signs promises definite advancement in this time of confusion and conflict, in which there is such need of every distinct ground for encouragement. In this time, when

the peace party of the whole world is mourning the loss of the Baroness von Suttner, the most distinguished woman who has ever served our cause, we cannot forget her appeal to the women of the United States for co-operation with the women of Europe in its larger service. We never forget our own Julia Ward Howe's peace crusade in England forty years ago. At this moment Mrs. Pathick-Lawrence, moved by the awful problems raised in Europe by the war, is here from England on a peace crusade among the women of America. I urge our women's clubs and all our organizations everywhere to open their ears and their hearts to her; and it is to be trusted that all the imperative lessons of the war will lead the women of the world to a broad and efficient co-operation in the war against war such as they have never before contemplated.

NOVEMBER 21, 1914.

REPORT OF DR. JAMES A. MACDONALD

The year now closing I have found crammed with interest and with terrible significance from the standpoint of international good will and peace. If ever in history a traditional policy of the nations was disproved by facts and wrought disaster on a world scale, it was during this year, when the policy of Armed Peace led directly to Bloody War. The great nations that prepared for War have had to take that for which they had been preparing; and the nations that believed in Peace and lived faithful to that belief have been dragged into that world struggle or are suffering its indirect but colossal consequences. North America, which for a century in its own internationalism has kept the peace, is made to pay the price of war on one side as a neutral nation, and on the other side as a belligerent. Directly and indirectly the United States and Canada share the sorrows of a war that was not their war, because they are neighbors, in the world community, to the nations that broke the peace. This fact only gives emphasis to the supreme necessity for World Peace as conceived and propagated by this Foundation.

My own first piece of service this year, in connection with the work of the Foundation, had the World point of view. It was in addressing the great international convention of the World Student Volunteer Movement, in Kansas City, Mo., on "North America's World Leadership." My last service for the year will probably be in Boston, on Forefathers' Day, in a survey of "America's Greatest

Achievement in the Light of Europe's Colossal Failure." That forward look in the first week of the year, and that backward look in the last week, covered the entire year and both nations.

During January and half of February my attention was confined largely to Canadian points. On Washington's Birthday I gave an address on "George Washington and Anglo-American Unity,"—in the forenoon at the Jewish service in the Free Synagogue, Carnegie Hall, New York; in the afternoon at the Central Y. M. C. A., Brooklyn; and in the evening in the Unitarian Church, Montclair, N.J. Similar variety of opportunity was enjoyed for the work of the Foundation during March in Philadelphia, Washington, North Carolina, and as far south as Jacksonville, Florida, and north to Providence, R.I. I do not here undertake of course to make any detailed report of my multitude of lectures, but simply indicate their character and the variety of fields which I have reached.

During May visits were made to central points in Canada; and in June Baccalaureate and Commencement addresses were delivered at universities and colleges in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Illinois. During the same and later months a number of addresses were given in both countries at annual denominational assemblies and interdenominational conventions and at the International Convention of Associated Advertising Clubs, and similar gatherings. In July Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were visited and the idea of World Peace advocated. With the outbreak of war in Europe more specific attention was given to reaching public opinion through the press. During these months more than one hundred editorials and signed articles on one or another phase of the war-and-peace problem were published in Canadian, American and British journals. All these addresses, editorials, articles and interviews dealt directly with international problems from the standpoint of World Peace, and were made possible by the plan and program of this Foundation.

NOVEMBER 21, 1914.

Appeal to the Christian Churches

The Conference of the Evangelical Churches of Switzerland has issued an Appeal to the Christian Churches of Europe, "in the name of the God of Justice and of Love, our Heavenly Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace," calling the Churches to a deeper sense of their duty and their rightful leadership in opposing the present portentous militarism and armaments of the nations. The appeal is signed officially, in behalf of the Conference, by four pastors of the Canton of Berne: Rev. G. Ris, chairman, Rev. E. Ryser, Rev. M. Billeter and Rev. Ch. Simon, together with Prof. Louis Emery and Rev. J. Savary, of Lausanne, of the Synodical Commission of the National Church of the Canton of Vaud, from whom the proposal came. These leaders in the Swiss churches feel the situation to be so serious and urgent that they propose a Congress of the Churches of Europe, to be held at Berne sometime during the present year, to consider the whole subject in the most searching and definite way. The churches of America as well as of Europe will undoubtedly be included in their formal call for the Congress. Their solemn appeal, which is issued in German, French and English, is as follows:

Dear and honored Brethren:

The two Balkan wars have just shown once again—and with what tragic eloquence—what are the horrors of war: three hundred thousand men in the prime of life cut down by death, on the battlefield or in the hospital; as many and even more wounded, of whom a large number, maimed for life, will always be incapable of earning their living, and for many years will have to be kept by their fellow-citizens; thousands upon thousands of widows and orphans, mourning their natural breadwinner, and abiding in dire poverty; fertile countrysides laid waste, towns and villages burnt and destroyed; brutal outrages and cruelties of every sort; new rancors and hatreds added to old enmities and breeding the desire for revenge, the germ of future wars. Behold what we, the Christians of Europe, have witnessed—nineteen centuries after there was sung, in the land of Judea, the song of welcome to the glory of the Son of Man, "Peace on earth, good will to men."

Is it possible for us to console ourselves in some measure for the horrible spectacle of this war by the thought that the efforts of diplomacy have succeeded at least in confining that strife to the Balkan peninsula, and that the rest of Europe has continued to enjoy the precious benefits of peace? But does this peace really deserve its name? Fellow Christians, we cannot, and we must not, believe so. Think only of the innumerable efforts and precautions which the several Governments have had to take in order to preserve peace—without being able to guarantee it—even for a few weeks in advance. Think of the hundreds of thousands of men who are at this moment under arms ready to fight, and still other hundreds of thousands who can join them in a few days. Reckon up the millions and tens of millions which the na-

tions of Europe are spending on the maintenanee of their forees by land and by sea.

May we be allowed in this connection to quote a few figures? In 1880 the six Great Powers of Europe: Austria, Franee, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, spent £144,000,000 ($697,000,000) for the upkeep of their armies and navies, with a total, on a peaee-footing, of about 2,650,000 men. In these figures, as in those that follow, we have reckoned only the army and navy budgets, and not the colonial budgets, whieh also inelude military expenditure, but incurred outside Europe. Thirty years later, in 1910, the military and naval expenditure of these same states exceeded £284,000,000 ($1,375,000,000), a sum whieh maintained, still on a peaee-footing, 3,800,000 men. For 1914, we already know that they will have more than 4,200,000 men under arms, and that the total of their military and naval establishment will amount to more than £320,000,000 ($1,549,000,000).

Led on by the example of the Great Powers, and to safeguard their neutrality in ease of eonfliet among the others, the powers of seeond and third rank according to population are likewise eompelled to inerease their military expenses to a very eonsiderable extent. With regard to Switzerland, for example, they have mounted from £480,000 ($2,333,000), in 1888, to £1,680,000 ($8,141,000) in 1910. At the present moment the annual total of military expenses for the following countries may be estimated at £48,000,000 ($232,000,000): Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Greeee, Holland, Montenegro, Norway, Rumania, Servia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey. Needless to say, the expenses of the recent Balkan wars are not eounted in this sum. And these states, on a peaee-footing, maintain about 800,000 men.

Thus we may say that in 1914, without supposing for that year any speeial politieal eomplieation, Europe will have a military and naval expenditure of £380,000,000 ($1,849,000,000), and 5,000,000 men under arms, to whom, in ease of war, may be added three or four times that number.

Notiee also that this figure of £380,000,000 does not represent the whole financial burden whieh Europe endures on aeeount of international rivalry. A notable portion of the European national debts, whieh today exceed a total of £648,000,000 ($3,137,000,000), eomes from expenses incurred through past wars or military expenses eovered by loans, and from this, for the interest and sinking fund of that part of the debts, there is an annual expense whieh may be valued at £200,000,000 ($968,000,000).

Moreover it is neeessary to take into aeeount the loss of wealth due to the faet that these 5,000,000 men instead of doing produetive work are being maintained by their fellow-countrymen. Estimating at £48 yearly the value of the work whieh on the average might be done by eaeh of these able-bodied men, there is under this head an indireet annual expenditure of £240.000,000 ($1,172,000,000). We may eonelude, then, that in 1914, if a eondition of peaee is kept in Europe. that eondition will eost approximately $4,000,000,000

Does this eondition really deserve the name of "eivilization" (we dare not say, out of respeet for Christ, of "Christian" eivilization)? To this question, evidently, we ean only reply

in the negative. Just as today we agree to designate as "savage" the condition of people where each individual makes justice for himself and where the vendetta reigns, because with those people there is neither law, nor law-courts, nor police, eveu so the centuries of the future will one day rightly give the name "barbarian" to the present international régime—that régime where brute force outweighs law, and where the largest item of European budgets is devoted to making millions of men competent to kill other millions.

If the great majority of those who, rightly or wrongly, call themselves Christians have contributed in part to this wretched condition of things, what then do the Churches say, which formally recognize Christ as their Sovereign Lord, and whose express mission is the establishment on this earth of ours of the Kingdom of Justice. of Love and of Peace? Have they wrought, as they might, and ought to have, to bring together the nations on the common ground of brotherhood, by reminding them ceaselessly that the fruit of justice is sown in peace, and that the true greatness of nations, like that of individuals, consists not in conquering and dominating other peoples, but in rendering to humanity the maximum service that is possible? When the governments of the countries where these Churches are established engage in war, have they always sought—impartially, in the light of God's own Spirit —to know on which side lay justice, which side had the better right? Leaving aside their natural sympathies as in duty bound, did they ask the Almighty to give the victory to the cause which in their eyes stood for the right? Have they not rather, influenced by the spirit of this world, prayed that victory might be to the armies of their own people, without taking thought for the justice of the cause? Have not many of their spiritual leaders dared to glorify war as a diviue institution instead of seeing therein, as is really the case, one of the most awful manifestations of human selfishness?

We are well aware of all the moral and social progress that has been made under the influence of that Gospel which is being preached more or less faithfully by all the Churches. We recognize the action of the spirit of Christ in the international laws designed to mitigate the horrors of war, in the recourse to arbitration made by some powers, and in those international congresses held in favor of peace. But what the Churches have done during these last centuries, by indirect rather than by direct action, against war and in favor of peace is little or nothing in comparison with what they could and ought to have done in order to remain faithful to the spirit of their divine Master, or even simply to follow the example of the Church of the Middle Ages in its efforts towards the establishment of the Truce of God. We ought, in this respect, to humble ourselves before God, and humbly to recognize that in the war on war, in the efforts made hitherto to burst the barriers which sin has raised between the nations, and to lead these to thoughts of peace, the Churches have not taken the place and the position which was their duty and their right.

This neglect—this, so to speak, official neglect—of our Christian duty cannot longer continue without scandalizing the world and without covering with opprobrium the name of

our Lord Jesus Christ. It is absolutely essential that all the Churches which have at heart the glory of their Master and the advancement of the Kingdom of God shall understand and undertake, without delay, the task which thrusts itself upon their attention. It is absolutely essential that in this Europe of ours, armed to the teeth, the Churches shall uplift their voices with all their strength and cry: "Peace on earth, good will to men!" It is absolutely essential that they strive with all their might against prejudice, selfish interest and that false patriotism which sows jealousy and hatred among the nations. It is absolutely essential that they work together for the substitution of right for brute force—of arbitration for war. It is absolutely essential that they rouse the nations, not to a ruinous competition in armaments, but to a fruitful emulation in the arts of peace.

By what means shall the Churches acquit themselves of this sacred and noble task? It is not for us to find it out and state it here; we wish this to be the work of a *Congress of the official delegates of the Churches of Europe.* Our own ambition—the ambition of the Churches of a neutral country, where citizens speaking different tongues and confessing different faiths can live together in peace—our ambition and our prayer is this, that the Churches of Europe, of all confessions, forgetting for a moment the differences that separate them, and bowed before the Cross on Calvary, shall remember that they all alike confess the same Master, the same Father in Heaven, and the same call, viz.: to establish here on earth the Kingdom of the God of Love. May they, forgetting their differences and remembering only these things, assemble together their delegates in Congress to seek, under the holy guidance of the Spirit of God, what the Churches, as Churches, might do to promote among the nations the spirit of Justice and of Peace, and so gradually to bring about a diminution in military burdens and in the risks of war.

With this end in view, and in the conviction that we are acting according to the will of God, we take the liberty of asking you, dear brethren in Christ, if you would be disposed to send official representatives of your Church to a Congress of the Churches of Europe—which, if it be God's pleasure, might hold their sessions in the course of the year 1914, at Berne. We shall be extremely obliged if you will make us acquainted with your answer between now and the 15th of April next; and if the number of affirmative replies is sufficient, we will send you later fuller information as to the date and composition of the Congress.

May God himself inspire your answer; may He bless your Church with His most precious blessings; may He have you in His holy keeping; and may He sanctify our action to the glory of His Name. These are the feelings, dear and honored brethren, with which we beg your acceptance of our greeting in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Berne, January, 1914.

The World Peace Foundation
Boston, Mass.

The Common Interest

Passage from an Address by George E. Roberts, Director of the United States Mint, before the New York State Bankers' Association, at Ottawa, Canada, June 12, 1913

The New York State Bankers' Association, partly for a holiday, partly for its own information and instruction, and largely as an expression of neighborly good will and to be the first of many bodies that are eager to celebrate the 100th anniversary of peace between these countries, is holding its annual convention in the beautifni little capital city of Ottawa. It is true the 100th anniversary has not yet arrived, but the bankers with their instinct for doing a little business on a sure thing are willing to discount the remainder of the time.

It seems to me to be very appropriate that of all people the bankers should be foremost in a celebration of Peace. The banker knows better than any one else how many are the ties of interest that bind the modern nations together. He knows better than any one else that war is not only barbarous in its cruelties but barbarous in its ignorance of common interests.

One of the most persuasive books of recent years is entitled "The Great Illusion," and the illusion of which it treats is the idea that any people can possibly benefit itself by conquering, impoverishing or even annexing, forcibly, another people. The author shows that if it were possible for a German army to capture London there is nothing it could do to disturb the activities or prosperity of its inhabitants that would not react disastrously upon the people of Germany. It might be able to loot the Bank of England, but if the Bank of England was looted there would be a panic throughout the world, and nowhere greater than in Berlin. An illustration of this was afforded two years ago when a German warship steamed into a port of Morocco, with a remotely implied threat of war with France, with the result that so much French money was withdrawn from Germany that the Imperial Bank was obliged to expand its loans by $200,000,000 within 30 days, and meantime the Berlin stock exchange was in panic and German industries lost hundreds of millions more. No nation liveth to itself alone in the 20th century. The wealth of the world is now a common fund. There is a reservoir in London, another in New York, another in Montreal, and others elsewhere, but they are all connected. You can't draw down the supply of capital in one without affecting the supply in all. You cannot burn up, confiscate or destroy property anywhere that the whole civilized world does not suffer loss. There isn't a remote district in Canada today where money is not tight and enterprise in check because of the war in the Balkan States.

Another idea that is more or less illusory is the notion that a big country, with a vast expanse of territory, a large population and a powerful army and navy, is somehow a more desirable country to live in than one of the smaller states. We all have pride in bigness. I confess that we have a weakness for it in the United States and I have seen symptoms of it in Canada. But it is really difficult to see, when you try to figure it out, wherein the average citizen of Belgium or Holland is not as well off in all that concerns his personal prosperity and comfort as the average citizen of Russia or Austria, or for that matter any other country of Europe. The only possible advantage that can be claimed for a big country is that it affords a man of large affairs a more extensive free trade area for his operations. But that argument carries us over into the tariff question, and men whose minds will work together on everything else under the sun will fall apart on the tariff.

I remember an argument I heard two years ago between two friends, one of the States and the other a Canadian, over the proposed reciprocity treaty. Possibly some of you Canadians may recall that there was talk about a reciprocity treaty! My friend of the States said it wouldn't be fair to open a market of 90,000,000 people in exchange for access to a market of only 8,000,000 people. "Bnt," said the Canadian, "you forget that when the Canadian goes over to the United States with his products he finds that there are 90,000,000 people already on the ground to compete with, while when you come over to Canada

you only find 8,000,000 people to compete with." And there you are! I will not venture to express an opinion upon that particular treaty, but I will say that it has always seemed to me that if there were any two peoples in the world who could afford to take down all barriers between them and open the entire area of both countries to the enterprise of both, those two were the peoples of the United States and Canada; but when I remember what the people of the United States did to President Taft on account of the treaty, and what the people of Canada did to the treaty, I am obliged to conclude that the advantage of a vast area open to free trade is still a debatable question.

But if that is true the argument for the big country falls down all around, and if there is no advantage for the big country there is no sense in wars for territory.

It used to be that men went to war frequently over religion, but whether people no longer care enough about their religion to fight for it, or because they are getting a better kind of religion—and I think this is it—at any rate men are not going to fight very much in the future over religion. Racial antagonisms unhappily remain, and I fear will remain for a long time, but they will gradually disappear as the peoples know each other better.

It is often said of those of us who are optimistic about peace that we fail to take account of human nature and that human nature is just the same as it has been in the past. It may be that in some respects human nature has changed but little, but I am sure the human kind has been learning something as the years have passed, and that in this day of schools, newspapers, and free speech the people cannot be buncoed into war for glory, and somebody else's glory, as easily as in the past. It used to be that war was the common business of mankind, but the energies of men have been turned into another channel. This is the Economic Age, the age of Industry and Commerce, an age of hope and ambition for the common man, when every man is striving to better his condition and make the condition of his children better than his own. The conditions are not the same as of old; the interests are not the same. It makes a lot of difference with human nature if when you are mad enough to burn down a man's house you find that you own stock in the insurance company.

Wars are out of date when good will has become a commercial asset. Why, in the orchard country out West, and I believe in Ontario, they won't allow a man to pack his own apples for shipment, so anxious are they that the distant stranger shall have a square deal. If a sale of American securities is made to a friendly people with disappointing results, the loss to America far exceeds any possible gain. We simply cannot afford to injure another people, by hook or by crook.

Men have learned that as a plain commercial proposition there is more to gain by trading with a neighbor than by killing him, or even by governing him; and for proof of the last proposition see the experience of England with her North American colonies.

And so the most preposterous thing in Christendom today is the spectacle of the so-called civilized nations spending more than one-half of all their revenues in preparation for defense against each other, each protesting, and I believe honestly, that it will never make an attack. Germany, in addition to her regular appropriations for military purposes, now calls for a special contribution from capital of $250,000,000, every dollar needed by her industries, to be expended upon fortresses and equipment, and France, spurred on by the action of Germany, levies new taxes and floats new loans to maintain the equilibrium.

At this opportune time Canada and the United States hold up an inspiring example to the world. Four thousand miles of common frontier without a fortress or a gun; 100 years of peace, with every disagreement settled by diplomacy or arbitration, and without a dollar expended in preparation for war with each other. It is worthy of celebration! We ought to begin a year in advance and make it a memorable year for our children and for all the burdened children of men.

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston

The War and the Peace Movement

What does the European war mean to the peace movement?

It means that the world is learning the lesson the peace movement has been teaching, in the most difficult way and at far too great cost to itself rather than through the normal, easier method of being convinced by reason and facts.

It means that the interdependence of nations, on which the peace movement is based, should henceforth need no demonstration, and that a reorganization of governments in recognition of its conditions should be rendered simpler—by a horrible experience instead of through the conviction which the peace movement tries to build normally into institutions of government.

It means that the military system, bred by and itself breeding suspicion among nations, should be discredited as an instrument of modern government; that the peace cause should gain force and adherents as the opposing proposition loses popular support.

It means that democracy should, as a result, be expected to increase in Europe, as democracy always has increased when bureaucratic government has overplayed its hand; that governmental policies of friction should consequently give way to other policies of conciliation, honesty and fair dealing among nations.

It means that secret alliances, through which the states of Europe have been pyramided against each other, ought to be wiped out, to be superseded by a policy of no alliances or of open alliances.

It is to be hoped that it means the dissolving of many antagonisms which have estopped progress, for a chastened Europe should be a fairly reasonable Europe.

It means that there will at the end be called a European conference—a new Conference of Vienna or a new Peace of Westphalia—from which we may hope that a new Europe will emerge, a Europe as different from the old as the Europe remade after Waterloo differed from the Europe of the days before the French Revolution. But the new Europe is not likely to be changed so much in its geography as in its ideas of government. Even in Napoleon's time "the nations were too firmly set" for even that transcendent military genius.

The peace program has called for the establishment of methods of conciliation as contrasted with those of suspicion in order that the governments of the world might correspond with the demands rendered essential by the enormous changes wrought by the development of the credit system, rapid transportation and the inevitably increasing unity of nations.

The peace movement finds no satisfaction in its expectation that through the tremendous cataclysm in Europe its own cause may be benefited. The horror of the method is exactly the thing that has given the peace movement its strength. If it takes such an experience as the present to convince, gratitude for the outcome must be tempered by deep sorrow at the tremendous cost in blood, money and international disorder which could have been averted if nations through the years had but given a more willing ear to the reasonable program of honesty, fair dealing and good understanding in international relations.

The Die Is Cast

There are some occasions too big with significance for expression. This is one of them. Compared with the horrors now awaiting the world, the Titanic disaster was a scratched thumb at a Sunday school picnic. A general war of the nations, in which practically all the great powers of Europe are engaged, exceeds in its abject terribleness anything of which human history, ancient or modern, bears record.

For years Europe has been keeping up a state of expectant war, through huge military and naval establishments. The men who have sought to save her from this impoverishing drain have been more or less derided as dreamers and visionaries. Perhaps they are. It all depends on the point of view. Samuel Rogers once related that when he visited the convent at Padua, an old monk there showed him the celebrated painting of the Last Supper. The aged man explained that when he had come there in youth, he had supposed his associates were the living realities and these figures on the canvas the shadows, but that as he had seen these early friends, one after another, drop away and pass out of view, he had finally concluded that they were, after all, the shadows, and that the figures on the canvas were the realities.

May not the world, out of the terrible experience on which it is now entering, be likely to glean a lesson like that of the aged monk? May it not be possible that those people who suppose we are to go on, from generation to generation, settling the technical disputes between nations by killing their men by the million, are really they that are in slumbers and in dreams, while those who seeing the weight of war which affects poor humanity, feeling the possibility of an improved world order, striving earnestly for its attainment, are really they that are awake and alive—the children of the morning?—*Boston Herald, August 5, 1914.*

World Peace Foundation
40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston

The End of the Armament Rings

By H. G. WELLS

In this smash-up of empires and diplomacy, this utter disaster of international politics, certain things which would have seemed ridiculously Utopian a few weeks ago have suddenly become reasonable and practicable. One of these, a thing that would have seemed fantastic until the very moment when we joined issue with Germany and which may now be regarded as a sober possibility, is the absolute abolition throughout the world of the manufacture of weapons for private gain. Whatever may be said of the practicability of national disarmament, there can be no dispute not merely of the possibility but of the supreme necessity of ending for ever the days of private profit in the instruments of death. That is the real enemy. That is the evil thing at the very centre of this trouble.

At the very core of all this evil that has burst at last in world disaster lies this Kruppism, this sordid enormous trade in the instruments of death. It is the closest, most gigantic organization in the world. Time after time this huge business, with its bought newspapers, its paid spies, its agents, its shareholders, its insane sympathizers, its vast ramification of open and concealed associates, has defeated attempts at pacification, has piled the heap of explosive material higher and higher—the heap that has toppled at last into this bloody welter in Belgium, in which the lives of four great nations are now being torn and tormented and slaughtered and wasted beyond counting, beyond imagining. I dare not picture it—thinking now of who may read.

One Universal Resolve

So long as the unstable peace endured, so long as the Emperor of the Germans and the Krupp concern and the vanities of Prussia hung together, threatening but not assailing the peace of the world, so long as one could dream of holding off the crash and saving lives, so long was it impossible to bring this business to an end or even to propose plainly to bring this business to an end. It was still possible to argue that to be prepared for war was the way to keep the peace. But now everyone knows better. The war

has come. Preparation has exploded. Outrageous plunder has passed into outrageous bloodshed. All Europe is in revolt against this evil system. There is no going back now to peace; our men must die, in heaps, in thousands; we cannot delude ourselves with dreams of easy victories; we must all suffer endless miseries and anxieties; scarcely a human affair is there that will not be marred and darkened by this war. Out of it all must come one universal resolve: that this iniquity must be plucked out by the roots. Whatever follies still lie ahead for mankind this folly at least must end. There must be no more buying and selling of guns and warships and war-machines. There must be no more gain in arms. Kings and Kaisers must cease to be the commercial travellers of monstrous armament concerns. With the Goeben the Kaiser has made his last sale. Whatever arms the nations think they need they must make for themselves and give to their own subjects. Beyond that there must be no making of weapons in the earth.

The Imperialism of Berlin

This is the clearest common sense. I do not need to argue what is manifest, what every German knows, what every intelligent educated man in the world knows. The Krupp concern and the tawdry Imperialism of Berlin are linked like thief and receiver; the hands of the German princes are dirty with the trade. All over the world statecraft and royalty have been approached and touched and tainted by these vast firms, but it is in Berlin that the corruption has centred; it is from Berlin that the intolerable pressure to arm and still to arm has come; it is at Berlin alone that this evil can be grappled and killed.* Before this there was no reaching it. It was useless to dream even of disarmament while these people could still go on making their material uncontrolled, waiting for the moment of national passion, feeding the national mind with fears and suspicions through their subsidised Press. But now there is a new spirit in the world. There are no more fears; the worst evil has come to pass. The ugly hatreds, the nourished misconceptions of an armed peace, begin already to give place to the mutual respect and pity and disillusionment

* It is a great mistake not to recognize that England also has been a great centre for the armament rings. This is powerfully exposed by Philip Snowden, M.P., in his address on "Dreadnoughts and Dividends," just being published in pamphlet form by the World Peace Foundation.

of a universally disastrous war. We can at last deal with Krupps and the kindred firms throughout the world as one general problem, one world-wide accessible evil.

Outside the circle of belligerent States, and the States which, like Denmark, Italy, Rumania, Norway and Sweden, must necessarily be invited to take a share in the final re-settlement of the world's affairs, there are only three systems of Powers which need be considered in this matter, namely, the English and Spanish-speaking Republics of America and China. None of these States is deeply involved in the armaments trade; several of them have every reason to hate a system that has linked the obligation to deal in armaments with every loan. The United States of America is now, more than ever it was, an anti-militarist Power, and it is not too much to say that the Government of the United States of America holds in its hand the power to sanction or prevent this most urgent need of mankind. If the people of the United States will consider and grasp this tremendous question now; if they will make up their minds now that there shall be no more profit made in America or anywhere else upon the face of the earth in war material; if they will determine to put the vast moral, financial and material influence the States will be able to exercise at the end of this war, in the scale against the survival of Kruppism, then it will be possible to finish that vile industry for ever. If, through a failure of courage or imagination, they will not come into this thing, then I fear if it may be done. But I misjudge the United States if, in the end, they abstain from so glorious and congenial an opportunity.

Let me set out the suggestion very plainly. All the plant for the making of war material throughout the world must be taken over by the Government of the State in which it exists; every gun factory, every rifle factory, every dockyard for the building of warships. It may be necessary to compensate the shareholders more or less completely; there may have to be a war indemnity to provide for that, but that is a question of detail. The thing is the conversion everywhere of arms-making into a State monopoly, so that nowhere shall there be a ha'p'orth of avoidable private gain in it. Then, and then only, will it become possible to arrange for the gradual dismantling of this industry which is destroying humanity, and the reduction of the armed forces of the world to

reasonable dimensions. I would carry this suppression down even to the restriction of the manufacture and sale of every sort of gun, pistol, and explosive. They should be made only in Government workshops and sold only in Government shops; there should not be a single rifle, not a Browning pistol, unregistered, unrecorded and untraceable, in the world. But that may be a counsel of perfection. The essential thing is the world suppression of this abominable traffic in the big gear of war, in warships and in great guns.

Armaments and the State

With this corruption cleared out of the way, with the armaments commercial traveller flung down the back stairs he has haunted for so long—and flung so hard that he will be incapacitated for ever—it will become possible to consider a scheme for the establishment of the peace of the world. Until that is done any such scheme will remain an idle dream. . . . If there is courage and honesty enough in men, I believe it will be possible to establish a world council for the regulation of armaments as the natural outcome of this war. First, the trade in armaments must be absolutely killed. And then the next supremely important measure to secure the peace of the world is the neutralization of the sea. It will lie in the power of England, France, Russia, Italy, Japan and the United States to forbid the further building of any more ships of war at all; to persuade, and if need be, to oblige the minor Powers to sell their navies and to refuse the seas to armed ships not under the control of the confederation. To launch an armed ship can be made an invasion of the common territory of the world. This will be an open possibility in 1915. Already human intelligence and honesty have contrived to keep the great American lakes and the enormous Canadian frontier disarmed for a century. Warlike folly has complained of that, but it has never been strong enough to upset it. What is possible on that scale is possible universally, so soon as the armament trader is put out of mischief. The age of armed anxiety is over. Whatever betide, it must end. And there is no way of making it end but through these two associated decisions, the abolition of Kruppism and the neutralization of the sea.

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